

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4559 FOR Tel. #189, 7 pm

FROM Italy (Kirk) DATED June 2, 1936
TO NAME 1-1187 ...

REGARDING: While military commanders exercise supreme authority in
Ethiopia, civil officials are already beginning to function
and law and order are being restored.

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865D.01/92

McL

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (c)

Rome.

Dated June 2, 1936.

Received 5.36 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

189, June 2, 7 p.m.

My 171, May 18, 4 p.m.

Lieutenant Colonel del Valle, Assistant Naval Attache to this Embassy, has just returned from East Africa and submits the following information based on his observations there:

Colonel del Valle was with Graziani's army from April 4 to May 15, 1936, and visited the following localities: Nogadiscio, Merca, Obbia, Volla Gioabruzzi, Afgoi, Beletven, Gorrahei, Galredare, Hamanlei, Sassbaneh, Jijiga, Harrar and Diredawa, proceeding by rail to Djibouti from the latter place. At the time of his departure effective opposition had ceased and the Italian forces were in complete control of the areas visited. Bands of Ethiopian soldiery were being gradually persuaded to turn in their arms; the Italians pursuing a most conciliatory policy even paying for their arms and arranging for their repatriation to their homes. General Graziani was planning the occupation of the region south and southeast of Addis Ababa by advancing from Neghelli along the main trail between Hagola and Addis Ababa. It is estimated that

-2- #189, June 2, 7 p.m. Rome.

that no opposition of a serious nature will be encountered. Undoubtedly small armed bands will continue to exercise brigandage in the more remote section for some time to come but the suppression of these movements will be in the nature of police measures.

While military commanders exercised supreme authority in the area visited, civil officials were already beginning to function at the time of Colonel del Valle's departure and law and order were being restored. Contact with the natives was almost entirely through the civilian officials. People were returning to the towns and some modicum of commerce was beginning.

Colonel del Valle is now preparing and will submit a complete report.

NDH.

334
P.L.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4573 FOR Telegram #193, 5 pm.

FROM Italy (Kirk) DATED June 4, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1187 ***

REGARDING: Question of recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. Italians willing to allow matters to continue on the present basis for six months or so when a de facto recognition might be established and after a year the status might become de jure recognition.

wth

865D.01/93

MED

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (b)

ROME

Dated June 4, 1936

Received 3:51 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington

193, June 4, 5 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The British Ambassador tells me that he has discussed with Suvich the Argentine request to convoke the Assembly and that the Italian Government is obviously disturbed by this development. The first impression here was that this move had been inspired by the British but Drummond said that he had assured Suvich that such was not the case and that he personally had ascribed the proposal partly to the character of Saavedra Lamas who wished to play a conspicuous role in the present situation and partly to the preoccupation of the Latin American states in the doctrine of the non-recognition of territory acquired by conquest. The importance of the removal of sanctions as a condition precedent to the participation of Italy in European affairs had been clearly stated by Mussolini during the past few weeks. Before the interjection of the new element of the Argentine proposal the Italians

were

4573

MED - 2 - #193, June 4, 5 p.m. from Rome

865d.01

were envisaging the probability either of the removal of sanctions at a discreet interval following the June meeting of the Council or of a gradual disintegration of the sanctionist regime which would be an accomplished fact by the time the Assembly should meet in the Autumn. On the other hand they were also considering the possibility of reinforced or prolonged sanctions and had clearly indicated the far reaching consequences which such a course would entail. The question of the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia however, had not been regarded by the Italians as of immediate importance and the British Ambassador in his conversation with Suvich was given the impression that the Italian Government did not intend for the moment to confront other governments with the necessity of declaring themselves on this point that Italy was willing to allow matters to continue on the present basis for six months or so when a de facto recognition might be established and that after a year the status might become a de jure recognition. As a matter of fact the most obvious manner in which the point might be raised of an actual recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia would be through the request by a foreign government of the Italian Government for an exequatur for a consular officer in that territory or through the use of the title of Emperor in addressing the

King

MED - 3 - #193, June 4, 5 p.m. from Rome

King of Italy in letters of credence or other documents and accordingly whether the point should be raised would depend on the initial step by some foreign government rather than on some demand by the Italian Government which would confront other countries with the necessity for a decision. On the basis therefore of the desire of the Italians as expressed above to refrain from precipitating any such decision for the present and especially from being faced with an adverse decision the reported terms of the Argentine proposal together with the impression prevailing that any action on sanctions by the Assembly might be accompanied by a declaration of non-recognition have produced a distinctly unfavorable reaction in Italian official circles. The government here is consequently following closely the action which may be taken in pursuance of Argentina's request that the Assembly be convoked and there is even speculation as to whether Benes may possibly be willing or able to avoid calling a meeting at this time.

The British Ambassador also says that the propitiatory attitude of Italy towards England which has lately been apparent has resulted in facilitating the settlement of matters of minor importance which have been the subject of negotiations between the Embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this connection the possibility of an Anglo-French German entente to the exclusion of Italy has been causing consternation among

the Italians

MED - 4 - #193, June 4, 5 p.m. from Rome

863.01

the Italians and it has been suggested that the present conciliatory policy of Mussolini especially towards England and Germany is predicated on the fear of such a possibility. Schuschnigg's visit to Italy at this time and the conversations which he is believed to be carrying on with both the Duce and Suvich are being connected in the public mind with this policy although the visit is declared to be entirely unofficial. Furthermore it is being said that when Mussolini decides that circumstances permit him to renew active cooperation in European affairs he will make a statement of the terms on which that cooperation may be based and that as the status of Austria will probably constitute one of those terms he is conferring with the Austrian Chancellor on that point also. Schuschnigg's visit however is more generally connected with the developments at Geneva in the near future when Italy it is said in the eventual absence of representations will rely upon Austria to safeguard her interests. There has been so far no inspired editorial comment on these conjectures.

Not repeated elsewhere.

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Department of State
Division of Current Information No. 110

MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE, TUESDAY, MAY 26, 1936

ETHIOPIA

At the press conference today, Secretary Hull was asked if this Government had replied in any way to the notification by the Italian Government of its annexation of Ethiopia. The Secretary said, in response, that he had heard of no new developments in regard to this particular subject. He was then asked if this Government was consulting with any of the other American republics with regard to the annexation of Ethiopia. Mr. Hull reminded the correspondents OFF THE RECORD that immediately after the occupation of the capital of Ethiopia by the Italian forces he had stated that, pending developments of a definite and final nature relating to the question of policies which would be indicated and should be applied, he would not undertake to discuss the situation in public, that this remained the present status of the situation but that as soon as it was feasible he would be glad to go into further details.

A correspondent enquired if the Department had been advised that the Brazilian Government had replied to a similar note from Italy and in reply had advised the Italian Government that, inasmuch as its note raised a question which obviously would be taken up at the Pan American Peace Conference, namely recognition of territorial gains made by force, Brazil would withhold any definite decision on its attitude until after the Peace Conference at Buenos Aires. The Secretary said, in reply, that he had received no reports on this matter.

A correspondent raised the question whether there had been any thought of withdrawing the American diplomatic mission from Addis Ababa. The Secretary repeated OFF THE RECORD what he had said earlier in the conference: that more definite developments were being awaited which would enable the Department satisfactorily to determine the question of policies to be followed and how they should be applied. The Secretary was then asked if this Government was in consultation with any others on this subject. He answered that it should not be necessary to go into this question pending the further developments to which he had made reference.

AMBASSADOR DANIELS

The Secretary was asked if he had an engagement to see Ambassador Daniels today. He replied in the negative, adding that Mr. Daniels had already been in the Department for a short period to report his arrival. The correspondent then asked if the Secretary had anything to say about the purpose of Mr. Daniels' visit here. Mr. Hull replied that he had not talked with the Ambassador.

865D.01/94

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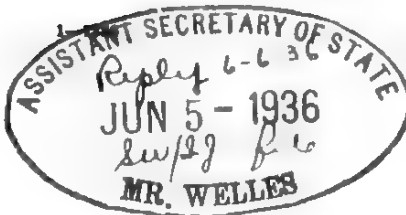
JUN 5 1936

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

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FROM RIO DE JANEIRO

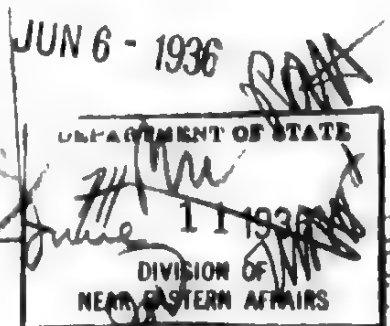
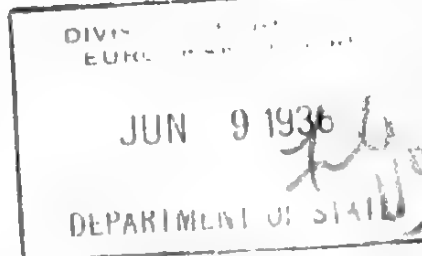
Dated June 5, 1936

Received 4:37 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington

145, June 5, 4 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.



In conversation with Macedo Soares this afternoon he said he had had a number of telegrams commenting on the Saavedra Lamas proposal in regard to the non recognition of the annexation of Ethiopia.

Rodrigues Alves telegraphed from Buenos Aires that the initiative was entirely a personal one on the part of Saavedra Lamas, was taken precipitately and without consultation with the President or government.

The Ambassador in London telegraphed that the British Government is distinctly annoyed and embarrassed by this initiative taken at the moment when an effort was being made to find some reasonable solution by direct talks with Italy.

The Brazilian observer in Geneva reports that the proposal was received there with mixed feelings, that many of the smaller powers are naturally anxious to create precedents to be invoked in the event of aggressions in Europe.

Confidential File

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JUN 13 1936

MED - 2 - #145, June 5, 4 p.m. from Rio de Janeiro

Europe but that in the present instance they feel that the dangers of public discussion might readily lead to serious complications and they would rather have assurances of peace in Europe and forego the precedent for the time being.

Macedo Soares has the impression that a strong effort will be made to defer active public discussion of this subject through the usual League procedure of appointing committees and subcommittees.

The foregoing may have reached the Department from other sources but I should be glad to know if the Department would like to have me telegraph resumes of future Brazilian telegrams on this subject.

GIBSON

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Washington,

June 6, 1936

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

2 PM

AMEMBASSY

RIO DE JANEIRO (BRAZIL)

84

Your 145, June 5, 4 p.m.

swd.01/95
Please continue to cable the Department resums
of any further information received by the Brazilian
Government which you consider to be of value.

865D.01/95

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P.H.*

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MA
Jun. 9 1936.

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

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NOTE

SEE 765.84/4576 FOR Telegram #460, 3 pm.

FROM France (Straus) DATED June 5, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: League Assembly meeting on June 30th. Not believed that any move will be made by the states for recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Ethiopia, although it is believed that sanctions will be lifted.

wth

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This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (b)

PARIS

Dated June 5, 1936

Received 11:45 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington

460, June 5, 3 p.m.

With reference to the expected meeting of the Assembly of the League about the 29th of this month as a result of the Argentine initiative, we were told at the Foreign Office today that they feel that while there may be a majority at the states represented at the Assembly in favor of lifting sanctions, there certainly will be no serious move for recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia and that a debate on this latter question in which representatives of some fifty nations may take part "will only complicate the matter".

(5d.01) With regard to the Argentine initiative, views have been expressed in the press here to the effect that this step may have been taken at the instigation of other powers. It is the view of the Foreign Office, however, that it was dictated solely by motives arising out of Argentina's continental policy reinforced by Saavedra Lamas' well known desire to play a great role on the international scene.

Referring

4576

762.65
MED - 2 - #460 June 5, 3 p.m. from Paris

Referring to the conversations which are reported to be taking place looking to a possible understanding between Germany and Italy, the Foreign Office believes "that there is something in it" but feels that Mussolini will not commit himself to anything at least until after he has had an opportunity to judge the results of the Assembly's action on the question of Ethiopia and that of sanctions.

Cipher copies to London, Berlin, Rome, Geneva.

STRAUS

R.N.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4580 FOR Despatch #2231

FROM Great Britain (Atherton) DATED May 29, 1936
TO NAME 1-1187 070

REGARDING: DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent's statement that any attempt to deprive Italy of undisputed sovereignty over Abyssinia would be resisted with all the forces at the disposal of the government and would have the support of the entire nation.

wth

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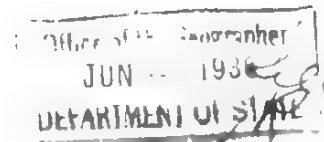
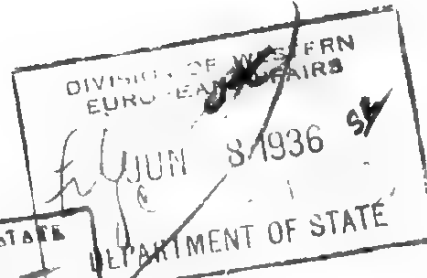
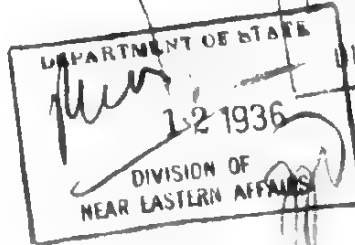
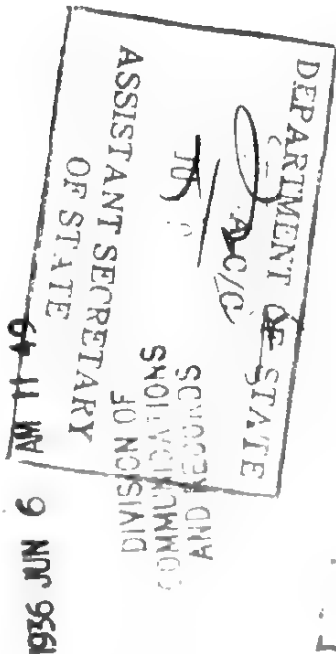


EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROME, May 21, 1936.

No. 1693

Subject: Legislation pertaining to Italian Sovereignty over
the Ethiopian Empire.



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my despatch No. 1679 of May 12th, and my telegrams 158 and 167 of May 14th and 16th, I have the honor to inform the Department that the decree-laws of May 9th establishing Italian sovereignty over the Empire of Ethiopia and appointing Marshall Badoglio as Governor General and Viceroy of Ethiopia were converted into law in extraordinary sessions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on May 14th and 16th, respectively. With this rapid completion of juridical formalities, the sign and seal of Italian constitutional procedure has been set upon the "accomplished fact" of the Empire and the irrevocable nature of the Government's decision thus consecrated.

Both

865D.01/98

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Both sessions were marked by particular solemnity, heightened in the case of the Senate by the presence of the Crown Prince (who was the first to cast a senatorial vote in favor of the decrees), and other royal princes. An account of the proceedings, with translations of the speeches made, is given in Enclosure No. 2.

865.001 ✓ 83
A further legislative act connected with the May 9th decrees has been issued: Royal Decree-Law No. 831 of May 14th (see Enclosure No. 1) establishing that all laws and other acts drawn up in the name of the King of Italy shall be promulgated with the following formula:

(Name of the King)
by the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation
King of Italy
Emperor of Ethiopia.

The above-mentioned Decree-Law, incidentally, was the first to appear under the new formula, although at least one court decision had already been issued in the name of the "King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia." (The May 9th decrees, it should be noted, were effective as of that date.)

As to the juridical and constitutional status of Ethiopia, no official elucidations have yet been forthcoming. Maurizio Maraviglia, however, a noted writer on the juridical aspects of the Fascist State, has published an article in the TRIBUNA of May 16th pointing out that the assumption of the title of Emperor by the King of Italy does not mean the establishment of a dual monarchy, or the personal union of two crowns and hence of two states. The Emperor of Ethiopia is Emperor of Ethiopia because he is King of Italy: in other words, the former title is an additional or accessory title to the second. From the international viewpoint, the writer explains, Ethiopia is, under the terms of the May 9th Decree-

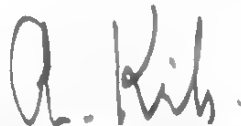
Law, an unseparable part of the Italian State, which alone can represent it vis-à-vis foreign countries. From the internal viewpoint, however, Ethiopia, though belonging to Italy, is not incorporated or annexed as a people and a territory to the people and territory of Italy, as has been the case of provinces at various times annexed to Italy. Were that true, all Italian statutes and laws would have sooner or later to be extended to Ethiopia, which would be obviously unfeasible. Ethiopia will, instead, have special legislation of its own issued by the Italian State.

1054.661
The writer also explains the apparent discrepancy between that provision in Decree-Law No. 754 of May 9th (establishing Italian sovereignty) which says that the Governor General Viceroy of Ethiopia shall be appointed by decree on the recommendation of the Chief of Government, Minister for Colonies, thus automatically excluding any legislative action, and the fact that the appointment of Marshall Badoglio was made on May 9th under decree-law, which calls for legislative action. This is due to the fact that the decree of appointment accorded full powers to the Governor General Viceroy. It is true, the writer continues, that the first decree-law gives full powers to the Government: but those full powers could not automatically be delegated to the Governor General before the Government itself had exercised the powers given it under the decree-law of establishment. Thus the procedure followed does not constitute a precedent for future appointments but represents only a provision for the initial period of transition.

The birth of the Italian Empire has been celebrated in innumerable manifestations and messages to the King and to Mussolini. Among these may be noted the resolution of the Royal Academy of Italy and its message to the King on May 14th

(see Enclosure No. 3), which, like the speeches given in the Chamber and Senate, mingle devotion to the House of Savoy and the person of the King with devotion to Fascism and Mussolini, and fuse into one concept the idea of Italy the Monarchy and Italy the Fascist State. In this connection the Department's attention is invited to the fact that in the decree conferring upon Mussolini the highest military honors of the House of Savoy the King speaks of "the Government of the King" and of the "Fascist Fatherland" (Embassy's despatch No. 1671 of May 7th, page 5).

Respectfully yours,



Alexander Kirk
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:

- (1) Royal Decree Law No. 831, Official Gazette (translation)
- (2) Ratification of the Decree-Laws of May 9, 1936,
establishing Italian Sovereignty over the Ethiopian Empire
- (3) Resolution of Royal Academy of Italy, May 14, 1936.

EH/wrm

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OFFICIAL GAZETTE, May 18, 1936.

(Translation)

ROYAL DECREE LAW No. 831 of May 14, 1936.

Article 1.

The first part of the formula of promulgation of laws, prescribed in Article 1 of the codified text approved under Royal Decree No. 1256 of September 24, 1931, is hereby modified as follows:

(Name of the King)
By the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation
King of Italy
Emperor of Ethiopia.

The rest of the formula shall remain unaltered as established in Article 1 of the aforesaid codified text.

Article 2.

The formula used in sentences of the judiciary authorities and in all other acts which under existing regulations must be drawn up in the name of the King shall likewise be modified in the manner indicated in the preceding article.

Article 3.

The present decree shall be effective as of May 9, 1936, and copies of acts drawn up after that date shall be issued with the formula indicated in Article 2, even should they have been drawn up prior to the publication of the present decree under the previously prescribed formula.

RATIFICATION OF THE DECREE-LAWS OF
MAY 9, 1936, ESTABLISHING ITALIAN
SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE ETHIOPIAN EMPIRE

Chamber of Deputies
May 14, 1936.

Mussolini presented the Decree-Law of May 9th, establishing Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia, for conversion into law. He then said:

(Mussolini's speech)

The will of Rome, victorious in her African enterprise, is expressed in the irrevocable affirmations which on the night of May 9th, 14th year, the Grand Council of Fascism acclaimed and all Italians consecrated with their oath:

"The territories and peoples which belonged to the Empire of Ethiopia are hereby placed under the full and entire sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy.

"The title of Emperor of Ethiopia is assumed, for himself and his successors, by the King of Italy."

Let us now consecrate in a law of the State these solemn resolutions of the fascist people.

After a brief recess, while a committee named to report on the bill met -- the Chief of Government having requested urgency procedure --, the mutilated and blind war veteran and deputy, Carlo Delcroix, rapporteur, said:

(Delcroix's Speech)

This decree, which on the memorable night of May 9th the luce read to the people, is even now more than a law. It is an event consigned to history. It comes before

Parliament

Parliament today for an act of pure formality, which we feel we are carrying out with the same joy, if not the same clamor, as the people who hailed in the Empire the inevitable recurrence of its history.

No reservation can invalidate this definitive and solemn act, consequence of victory and simultaneously condition for peace, which is not served by fictions and postponements but by decisions like this, which has the clean cut of the listorian axe.

A victory that places under discussion its own conquest renounces its right. A peace that leaves the way open to further disputes belies its own name.

The Duce has learned from the founders of empires that the best way to loosen knots is to cut them, and Rome takes the straight-forward road, which is the true road and the surest.

It was veritable madness to transfer to a world plane a question which is our merit to have brought back and solved within its true limits.

It was a great blunder to commit one's own prestige and that of others to such folly; but to persist therein could only aggravate the consequences.

Nothing is more absurd than to try to keep alive perforce a state which has ceased to exist, if ever it existed, now that the populations subjugated to it have welcomed our conquest as emancipation.

This old world is troubled enough by its living personages and its real problems to indulge in the luxury of calling up shadows and raising inexistent or at any rate closed problems.

We do not know of other violations than those perpetrated
against

against us: moral aggression which only our firmness, our prudence, kept from degenerating into the most absurd and tragic conflict of history.

The victory with the force of our arms has demonstrated the soundness of our motives, and having obtained full justice therefrom we may quietly await the lapse of a sentence that was first and foremost an offence to truth and a violence to peace. But it is Europe who cannot wait, and if others persist in their error, we must point out that Europe has greater need of Rome than Rome has of Europe.

This enterprise, which is unprecedented as to proportions and results, has conclusively confirmed, with the power of our military organization, all the conquests and works and activities of the forces of the Revolution, the physical and moral soundness of the race, the unity and discipline of the people, the efficiency of the political and social organization, the economic resistance of the country, and the financial capacity of the State.

Only leaders taught and trained by the World War, only the warrior youth issuing forth from the school of strength and virtue of Fascism could have achieved what has seemed, and not to us alone, a miracle. But the vastness, the wealth of the occupied lands, the immense possibilities lying open to the initiative and energies of a people, hitherto constrained to make cultivate the land of others, take second place in comparison to the dominion which that people has conquered within itself and the prestige it has imposed upon the world.

that
This is the certainty, after many doubts, with the announcement of the victory burst forth in a shout so mighty as to awake from ancient and recent graves all our fallen: from those who fell when the present reality was scarcely a dream to those who had the fortune to disappear in the great light
that

that tinged the dawn of the Empire. That shout which from the depth of the mass rose to the vertices of the throne, reaching the silent King who for the third time saw victory shine upon his insignia and resound throughout the world to announce the beginning of a new history: that history which will bear the imprint of Fascism, universal like all ideas which Rome has brought forth from her genius, and which will bear the name of the Duce who intuitively foresaw, determined, prepared, and conducted the undertaking whereby Rome is restored to her imperial destiny.

Mussolini then presented the decree appointing Marshall Badoglio as Governor General and Viceroy of Ethiopia:

(Mussolini's speech)

Ethiopia is Italian. From that irrefutable situation of fact and law derives the necessity of providing for the government of the great new colony.

The first Governor General of Ethiopia with the title of Viceroy could be no other than the man who in the past united under his government of the two adjacent colonies the command of the armed forces that have conquered the new Empire. Marshall Badoglio has merited this honor.

Upon the Governor General are conferred powers permitting him to govern Ethiopia in these first moments of the affirmation of our dominion, as the exceptional nature of circumstances demand, until such time as there is established the organization which Rome is preparing to give to Italian Ethiopia, where barbaric disorder is replaced by the organic, constructive fascist order.

The same procedure was then followed as for the first bill. Delcroix, after the committee returned to the hall, again took the floor.

Delcroix

(Delcroix's Speech)

The African campaign, of which the Duce was both statesman and strategist, had as its captain Marshall Pietro Badoglio, and this decree, appointing him as Governor General of Italian Ethiopia, has met with the satisfaction and favor of the people, who admire and love the victorious. Marshall Badoglio, whose fame as a heroic soldier is linked with the name of Sabotino, one of the most splendid of the new warrior nobilities, and who in the past demonstrated his ability as organizer and leader at the side of the Duke of the Victory, has covered his name with new glories in the African undertaking, leading our troops from victory to victory. The five hard-fought battles that opened up the road to the enemy capital, which he entered at the head of his troops after a march that the adversities of climate and terrain alone would suffice to place among the most arduous undertakings of history, will remain as inseparable examples of military quality and skill because of the spirit of the troops and the sagacity and energy of their commander.

The title of Viceroy, which for the first time appears in Italian legislation, not only represents the high and just recognition of the services rendered by this great soldier, but institutes the dignity appropriate and requisite to the government of so vast a region which, by virtue of Italy's capacity for labor and desire for peace, is destined to become in a few decades one of the richest and most fortunate of colonial domains.

In approving this law it is the intention of the Fascist Chamber to honor in the person of this outstanding captain, whose name will be recalled along with that of the liberator of Adowa and the conqueror of Neghelli, all the armed forces to which Fascism has given new power and new glory.

The night of the proclamation of the Empire, representatives of all the forces, drawn up in array on the Victor Emanuel monument,

monument, gave the people a plastic vision of this power and this glory. In the sky of Rome and in the heart of the multitude was a mysterious happiness, as though the smile of the unknown, touched by an ardor of youth in the depths of its darkness, and silence, had been communicated to creatures and things. When the troops in martial formation, descending the stairs of the monument, filed before the Duce, the enthusiasm and emotion of the throng culminated for an instant in a silence greater than any cry. It was the meeting of the army of Vittorio Veneto with the avenger of the sacrifice of the living and the dead. And at last we understood the reason for this long vigil awaiting the morning of Empire.

The bill was then approved, whereupon President Ciano took the floor.

(Ciano's Speech)

The interminable acclamations today accompanying the approval of the draft law for the foundation of the Empire are too eloquent to be in any way misunderstood, even at a distance.

You, comrades, have expressed with the same impetus as the throngs packed into the public squares of Italy on the historic night of May 9th your exultation for the great undertaking accomplished and with it have repeated before the world the sacred oath for the inviolability of the new Empire. But you have also expressed your gratitude to our great leader, who in every hour has the strength to assume for the country's greatness all the most formidable responsibilities with his irrevocable and enlightened decisions. Interpreting your unanimous feeling, I propose that the Chamber decide to place a bronze plaque in this hall, as an admonition and guide for ourselves and the coming generations and that the inscription read as

follows:

follows: "On May 9th, Year XIV F.E.: Benito Mussolini founded the Empire."

Vote was then taken by secret ballot on the two decrees, unanimity resulting, the session was adjourned.

Senate
May 16, 1936

The Duce at 3.30 p.m. entered the hall, which was packed to overflowing. Five minutes later the Crown Prince entered. Tremendous ovations greeted both the Chief of Government and the Heir to the Throne. President Federzoni at 4 o'clock declared the meeting open. When he rose to speak, the entire Senate also stood.

(Speech of the President of the Senate)

The Senate of the Kingdom has been convened in this extraordinary session to approve the law which constitutionally consecrates the result of great and happy events whereby Italy has appeared as though suddenly bathed in the light of an immortal epopea. The historic significance of the decision with which the assembly is about to ratify that provision is indicated by the presence in this hall of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Piedmont and of the other Royal Princes, a presence that is the more precious and significant for us in that a new wreath of power is being added to the splendid inheritance of Savoy, encircling the august brow of the King thrice victorious.

We Italians of the Fascist Empire have had the superhuman privilege of living hours that rarely return upon the dial of the centuries, filled with destiny and glory; we have heard the immense throngs cry with overflowing enthusiasm their gratitude to the supreme artificer of the victory, to the Duce who has given Italy the Empire, and we have felt how in that enthusiasm, in that cry, there vibrated the proud feeling of a people at last revealed to itself, sure of its strength,

having

having passed a formidable test, and ready if need be to face any other.

Never was a colonial war more vastly conceived, more hardly fought, more splendidly won. But Italy's triumph was not only that conquered by the skill of her military leaders, by the heroism of her officers and men, by the perfection of technical and logistic preparations: the victory was also political. For the first time a war in which a great civilized nation was committed with its every material and moral resource was at the same time waged against the opposition of almost all the world, manifested not theoretically but concretely in the deliberate intent of doing us harm and preventing us from winning, with the declared purpose of aiding the barbarian enemy of that great nation.

For the first time it came to pass that against a people guilty only of defending the fundamental rights of its existence and its future there was launched a cruel economic war to perform upon that people the sorry experiment of an absurd juridical concept. For the first time all anti-historical forces were coalesced against historical forces, against the stubborn will to live of a people that has thirty centuries of civilized development, attempting to stifle and annul that people in the name of an inconceivable universal peace at the service of barbarity against civilization.

And yet all this bore but one fruit: a maximum stimulation of the energies of the nation, its fusing into one solid block of hearts under the Duce's guidance, rendering fuller and swifter our victory and more impressive the effects thereof.

The renaissance of the nation, begun on May 24, 1915, fecundated and empowered by the Fascist Revolution, has today finally concluded its glorious cycle. Addis Ababa has historically realized, with the warrior spirit of the Fascist State, the rights Italy had acquired at Vittorio Veneto. Nor was it possible

possible for her to achieve her Empire in any other way, through just contracts or benevolent concessions by others. Experience has showed that whatever the sacred rights of anyone may be, he who has keeps what he has, however he has it or keeps it. The Empire the Italians had to conquer for themselves by their own blood and sacrifice. The nation has reached its goal, because it has for a century been fighting and working without surcease for its own unity and independence, and only today, as we have seen, has it fully achieved both of these; and because it has never renounced despite costly attempts and burning disappointments that aspiration toward expansion which in the masses was almost an instinct or an obscurely sensed necessity, even if to some it seemed but a dream.

But Italy has won and has reached her Empire, above all because she has believed; because she has believed in herself and in you, Duce; because she is convinced that when marching with the Duce no goal is too distant. So it is today; so it will be tomorrow and always. The serene, virile faith which the Italian people has kept during the past months, even in the face of the threat of greater tests, will be with it, multiplied by certainty, in the no less arduous struggles to which it might be called; first of all, if need be, for the defense of its splendid victory. We paid with unforgettable bitterness and sorrow the abandonment, seventeen years ago was seditiously consummated, of the political and ideal results of the valor of our soldiers. Now no longer. You have said it, Duce: Italy is on her feet, firm custodian of her own right. Let others measure their responsibilities if they would prevent her from returning to the work of peace and labor.

The speech was warmly applauded and enthusiastic demonstrations tendered the Duce and the Crown Prince.

The

The President then announced that the Chamber had submitted to it the bill regarding Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia and the assumption by the King of the title of Emperor of Ethiopia. The Chief of Government requested urgency of procedure, whereupon the President appointed a committee to consider the measure. The session was adjourned for a few moments. When the Committee returned to the hall, Senator Marconi, rapporteur, took the floor.

(Marconi's Speech)

This decree, which will mark a memorable date in our history, represents the triumphal epilogue of a glorious epoch and simultaneously the beginning of a new phase in the life of the Italian state and people. It definitely closes the ideal cycle of the Risorgimento and indicates the assumption by our country of vaster tasks and lofty responsibilities on a plane of world activity. Considering the great undertaking now accomplished by Fascist Italy in the name of the King Victorious through the titanic work of the Duce, one's thoughts turn naturally back to the distant pre-dawn of our colonial action, when Victor Emanuel II in 1869, even before leading the flag of national unity to the supreme goal of Rome, personally encouraged Giuseppe Sapeto to sow in the Bay of Assab the first seeds of an overseas dominion which had to be assured to a fatherland redeemed and independent but already needful of expansion.

There thus comes to our memory and gratitude today the luminous figures of the many pioneers whom during the last thirty years of the past century Italy launched to the discovery of that part of Africa, as the vanguard of her civilization and her right. Many of them fell in the course of their fabulous exploits, preceding in heroic sacrifice the ranks of the soldiers who in those afflicted regions made a holocaust of their lives to open up the way for the destiny of Italy. The tombs of them both remained in those lands as sacred pledges of an aspiration which nothing could stifle,

not

not even the colonial and political immaturity of a nation which in the most delicate and difficult moment of its national adjustment had been taken unawares at the decisive moment of international competition for the possession of the last unoccupied extra-European territories.

Italy was forced to halt on the shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, interrupting the mission of civilization which her geographical position and vital necessities had assigned her in East Africa. But hopes for an orderly progression of our colonial action within the narrow confines of Eritrea and Somalia were one by one deluded and destroyed by the enmity, now dull and passive, now open and violent, of that tyrannical and anachronistic power which in Ethiopia usurped the name of empire; up to the Treaty of Friendship of 1908, supreme testimony of Italy's good-will and just intentions, a pact which never had even a beginning of application by the second party but seemed, indeed, to determine the opening of a continuous series of the most flagrant acts of hostility, that soon took shape, as we all know, in a chain of premeditated and intolerable aggressions.

Amidst so many pertinacious offences not only to her elementary rights and interests but also to her sentiment of humanity and civilization, Italy was constrained to take up arms. The problem had become so serious as to admit of no compromise solution. Fortunately in the position of supreme responsibility was one who could face that problem with intrepid, unerring vision: the Duce, risen one day from the people to avenge Vittorio Veneto and create the most original and profound of revolutions, the first example of a State of the masses founded upon patriotism, hierarchy, and labor.

Seven months of bitter warfare under the guidance of his infallible genius and unconquered will have led Italy

to

to overcome, in the pride of her own strength alone, the most arduous test and to bring about under the impetus of her valorous combatants the downfall of that torn and absurd medieval stage setting which in vain still masked, vis-à-vis international hypocrisy, the infamy of a barbarity closed against every attempt at spiritual elevation and productive progress.

In that victory converged all the elements of life and power regenerated by Fascism: the martial education of the Lictorian youth, with the efficiency and perfection of our military organization, the logistical, technical, and industrial preparation of the country, and the provident trend of financial and economy policy, but above all that miraculous moral renaissance which made of the nation one sole militia, trained and ready for any event.

In this victory triumphed the whole assiduous, multiple, omnipresent work of the Duce during fourteen years of Fascist Regime. Indeed, without that multiform work, victory would not have been possible, since we have had to fight strenuously not only on the military front but also on the economic and diplomatic front to defeat at one and at the same time our barbaric adversary, his highly civilized patrons, and their clients and followers.

Against the most insensate and immoral coalition which history has ever recorded, Italy has opposed her indomitable daring, her impregnable unity, drawing close around the Duce, sure of him and for him. Today, pausing in the conquered territories in the shadow of the tricolor, she offers, in an ineffable impulse of gratitude and devotion, the crown of the new Empire to her King, admirably worthy of personifying this ascension of the country to the horizons of a radiant future.

This act is about to be ratified by our assembly, too, with its enthusiastic approval, upon which the august presence
of

of H. R. H. the Prince of Piedmont and the Princes Royal confers a more significant solemnity. This act consecrates the irrevocable and inviolable character of the results achieved at the price of so much generous blood and so many sacrifices.

Let no one think to diminish or to falsify them. Italy desires only to resume, along with her amplified action of civilization in Africa, her loyal collaboration in the cause of peace and international balance in Europe. Whoever still seeks to reject her commits the gravest of injustices and the most perilous of follies.

Through your efforts, Duce, the Italian people has shown the world its force, which is great, its courage, which is unlimited. Duce, you know that you can rely upon these new and enduring qualities of the Italian people.

The bill appointing Marshall Badoglio as Viceroy was then presented, and the same procedure followed as for the other decree-law.

Marconi, again rapporteur, said:

The incisive motivation with which His Majesty the King a few days ago conferred upon the Duce the insignia of the highest decoration which rewards the valor of leaders will remain the most eloquent and solemn historical recognition of the guiding impulse given personally by the Duce to the preparation, organization, and conduct of the Ethiopian campaign, a true political and military masterpiece which has won the world's admiration.

Sapient interpreter and insurpassable executor of the Duce's orders was, as we all know, Marshall Pietro Badoglio, Marchese del Sabotino, the great soldier whom we are honored to call our comrade in this assembly. Already famous for the
outstanding

outstanding evidence of courage and capacity in command given during the Libya campaign and even more during the World War, with the conquest of Ethiopia he has risen to the height of the greatest captains of modern times, through the genius of his broad strategic plan and the rapidity and efficiency of operations, miraculously defeating a hard-fighting enemy assisted by the exceptional aspect of the terrain and by the difficulties of communications.

What our expeditionary force in Ethiopia has accomplished is a prodigious feat of which every Italian is justly proud, which has astonished foreigners, and which history will record in perpetuum. Along with the name of Marshall Badoglio, we too salute with gratitude the no less splendid name of the avenger of Adowa and of the conqueror of Harrar. And we exalt with swelling heart all the victorious combatants in East Africa, leaders and men, soldiers and blackshirts, while we bow reverently before the shining memory of the fallen who immolated themselves heroically to give back to Rome her ancient mission of civilization.

The title of Viceroy conferred on Marshall Badoglio by the decree now submitted for the Senate's ratification is not only high recompense for his superb leadership of Italy's troops in their epic advance over the bitterly contended mountains of the Tembien to the enemy capital: it expresses above all the certainty of the new important services which Marshall Badoglio will render with his experienced capacity for government in the work just beginning, of reorganization, civilization, development of the vast region that has now come under the dominion of the king of this glorious fascist and imperial Italy of ours.

This is a work of peace and labor corresponding to the aims which the Duce assigned to the undertaking. But the Viceroy who will direct and supervise it is precisely the Marshall who

won the five battles of Ethiopia. Those who are about to take up this new task are the same who fought and won with him. The Italians now wish to wield the spade, but they have proved that they can handle the gun. It is well for no one to forget that our laborers and colonizers do not cease and never will cease to be soldiers, so that they may defend at any cost, should this ever be necessary, the legitimate result of victory.

The decrees were then put up for secret ballot. The Crown Prince cast the first vote, followed by his royal cousins. As in the Chamber of Deputies there was no opposing vote. When the results were read, the Senate cried: Long Live the Emperor!

Immediately after the meeting was adjourned, a marble plaque in the corridor near the assembly hall was unveiled in the presence of the Princes and the Duce, with the first article of the May 9th decree-law inscribed on it.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 1693 of May 21, 1936. ROME

Resolution passed by the Royal Academy of Italy.
May 14, 1936.

The Royal Academy of Italy, in its solemn meeting of May 14, 1936, moved by deep pride:

addresses its grateful thought to the sacred Majesty of the King, worthy successor, with triumphal ascendancy, of a great national dynasty, wise in peace, thrice victorious in war:

hails the Duce as the powerful creator of the new imperial Italy:

expresses its profound feeling of admiration and gratitude to the leaders, the soldiers, the laborers who with Roman daring and Italian intelligence have returned to Africa to bring back to it the name, the work, the civilization of Italy:

confirms the solemn pledge taken with sure faith in an unfailing victory at the beginning of the campaign and sealed in its resolution of January 19, 1936, to assist with all its authority and means in the solution of problems resulting from the victory in the new and Italian Empire of Ethiopia;

resolves to present a message of homage to his Majesty Victor Emanuel III and to the Duce.

Message of the Royal Academy to the King, read by
its President, Marconi, on May 14th,
at the Quirinal.

Sire:

Once more upon the sacred hills of Rome today, after fifteen centuries there reappears, resplendent with victory, the name and power of the Empire, personified by Your Majesty.

This is a great hour in the history of Italy and the
history

history of Your Majesty's House, which -- and more visibly so during the past century -- are one and the same. A great hour in the ineluctable process of that Risorgimento which moves from servitude to empire and in whose every stage the Italian nation saw a Savoy at its head and in a Savoy recognized and exalted itself.

Your noble ancestor Carlo Alberto dared to decree and conduct against a formidable empire the first war of independence; a magnanimous war which, however unfortunate, nevertheless opened the furrow of the glowing future.

Your great ancestor Victor Emanuel II, Father of the Country, with the three wars of '59, '66, and '70, gave the Italian people the independence, unity, and dignity of a great national state and restored to it the sacred, ancient, and eternal capital, Rome.

Your generous father, King Humbert, was the first to carry across the frontiers and the sea the nascent force of Italy and planted in the land of Africa, with the tricolor flag, the first insignia of the future Empire.

You yourself, Sire, during your glorious reign, whenever Italy reached a fork in the road, with virile sagacity and cool courage recognized and pointed out the true road.

When, after a dark interlude, Italian spirit and power was built up again, Your Majesty decreed and carried out the war in Libya, which not only gave us a Roman colony and a sheath of Homeric Islands in the Mediterranean, but also and essentially a new consciousness of our worth and right.

In a fateful hour for Europe and the world, in the face of all doubt and opposing cowardice, Your Majesty preferred dangerous but glorious and fruitful risk to faint-hearted quietude and decreed Italy's uncoerced entry into the greatest war of history; and even in the darkest days you firmly

believed

believed in and prepared that victory which is in itself the greatest treasure of peoples: that victory which was paid for by effort, abnegation, and the lives of 672,000 men but which, though defrauded of its most legitimate fruits, kept inviolate and inviolable, for the Italian people one of them at least, and the most precious, namely a heroic conscience and a heroic will.

In the Blackshirt Revolution and its God-sent leader Your Majesty at once recognized and with regal wisdom consecrated the inevitable resurrection of the Romanity of Italy.

Your Majesty, through the work of your great Minister, restored to the Italian nation with the conciliation unity of patriotic and religious conscience, the second Romanity of Italy.

You today, finally, O King come from the sea, hold out across the sea, over the deep and fruitful land of Africa, from the Mediterranean to the untrammelled ocean, your Italian sceptre of the new Empire which the all-embracing vision and the daring of a political genius, the Roman virtues of leaders and soldiers, the unconquered and unconquerable soul of the entire nation have, in Your name, against everything and everyone, acquired forever -- an Empire of power, of labor, of civilization.

In the name of this civilization once again Roman, permit Sire, the Royal Academy of Italy, which keeps in trust the ancient spirit and its ever newly-blossoming treasure, to express to you with moved reverence its sentiments of joy, pride, and devotion.

(The King thanked the delegation, which then went to Palazzo Venezia, where it was received by the Duce. No account is published either of the King's remarks or of the ceremony at Palazzo Venezia.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1941.

Memo on: Digest of Press and
other reports on Italian
plans for Ethiopia.

1. The following officials have
been interviewed: (List of names);

2. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;

3. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;

4. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;

5. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;
6. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;
7. The Italian Government has
submitted a plan for the
role of the Italian army;

Very respectfully,
[Signature]



OFFICE OF ECONOMIC ADVISER
EMBASSY OF THE JUN 19 1936
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ROME, May 21, 1936

No. 1695

Subject: Announced Plans for Italian Administration
and Development of Ethiopia.

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DIVISION OF WESTERN
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 8 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Copy to
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Addis Ababa
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JUN 17 1936
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my telegrams Nos. 161 and 164
of May 15th and 16th and other telegraphic reports on
the present situation in Ethiopia and Italian provi-
sions for the government and development of the newly
conquered territory, I have the honor to inform the
Department that as yet no definite scheme for the
administration of the Ethiopian Empire has, so far as
Italian sovereignty

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thereof, but juridical and practical details are yet to be worked out. The newly appointed Viceroy is reported to have been studying the question, and at Addis Ababa he conferred with Undersecretary for Colonies, Lessona, who returned to Rome a few days ago. Today there is published the announcement that Badoglio himself left Addis Ababa for Italy "on a short leave of absence" this morning, delegating Marshal Graziani to take charge of affairs during his absence.

There is given below a digest of such reports referring to the present situation in Ethiopia, administrative measures taken, and plans for development as have appeared in the Italian press since the proclamation of the Empire.

Present Administration of Ethiopia.

Full powers, both military and civil, are vested in the Governor General and Viceroy of Ethiopia, Marshal Badoglio, who furthermore, has jurisdiction over the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. In Addis Ababa, Harrar, Diredawa, and Jijiga, the following officials have been appointed:

Addis Ababa: Civil Governor, Giuseppe Bottai, who has just left, or is about to leave, the Ethiopian capital to resume his duties as Governor of Rome, after having seen to the initial organization of Addis Ababa.

Civil Vice-Governor, Adolfo Alessandrini (minor official of Foreign Ministry, subsequently attached to the cabinet of the High Commissioner for East Africa.

Military

Military Governor, General
Gariboldi.

Harrar: Extraordinary Civil Commissioner,
Commendatore d'Alessandro, of
the Colonial Office.

Diredawa: Extraordinary Civil Commissioner,
Pietro Parini.

Secretary-General of Commissioner's
Office, Vincenzo Tasco.

Jijiga: Civil Commissioner, Dr. Cossu, of
the Colonial Office.

Naturally, since the above outline is gleaned from a number of unofficial press despatches, it is not to be considered as complete.

According to an article in the MESSAGGERO of May 16th, it is believed that once effective occupation is completed, Ethiopia will be divided for administrative purposes into three governorships subordinate to the Viceroy, namely those of Addis Ababa, Harrar, and Jimma.

Military Measures.

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The attitude that peace has been effectively re-established is taken by the press and while the gradual military occupation of the entire country is mentioned, all action is referred to as police operations for the maintenance of order and protection of the civil populations. There have been no reports of attacks on Italian troops, but only reference to resistance to the law on the part of bandits menacing the lives and property of the Ethiopians themselves. It is asserted that order prevails wherever the Italian troops have been installed.

It is consistently pointed out that banditry has always flourished in Ethiopia and that it has nothing to do with the political situation but with the perpetual

misgovernment

misgovernment of the country. Admitting that it will take a long time to eliminate bandits, it is nevertheless asserted that this will be accomplished sooner than most people think, because the populations are with the Italians. All arms will be confiscated and the only troops other than those of Italy will be picked irregular bands of proved loyalty.

The attitude that the war is over is further reflected in the announcement from Asmara that Italians residing in the colony might, now that peace prevailed, bring in their families provided only that they possessed living quarters, and in the return to Italy of a number of volunteer officials to resume their peace-time duties.

The air force is being intensively used in "police operations for the pacification of the Empire" and is particularly active in the south.

Graziani has released 500 prisoners captured during operations in the Harrar region. In receiving the chieftains, he said that the Government would care for the peace, welfare, and defense of the populations, but would mete out exemplary punishment to any person who disturbed peace and order.

Large quantities of arms and munitions have been consigned to or siezed by the Italians in all occupied regions.

Submissions by chieftains and populations are reported from all occupied territories.

As to the rumor of assistance of Ras Imru (*), the

has been

been

(*) Telegram No. 173 of May 20th.

been greatly mitigated, and reports from Addis Ababa this afternoon state that all his subordinates have now submitted and that the Gojjam is under Italian control. Latest despatches report that the Italian troops marching toward Debra Marcos (where Starace has preceded them by air and received the homage and submission of the population) are supplemented by native bands under the command of Dejak Gessesseu, son of Ras Hailu, formerly lord of the Gojjam, subsequently deposed and imprisoned by the Negus, and recently escaped and submitted to by the Italians.

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Considerable prominence has been accorded to accounts of Badoglio's reception of Abuna Cirillo, head of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia, who is said to have assured the clergy's full recognition of and cooperation with the Italian government while Badoglio promised full respect for all religions, particularly the Coptic, and the restoration of damaged churches.

As to the rumored movement of Ethiopian troops from the western border, this is said to be denied by Italian flyers maintaining constant surveillance over the territory as well as by natives reaching Addis Ababa during the past few days by caravan from Jimma, Kaffa, and even Gambela, where the movement was supposed to have started.

✓
(Alleged Existence of an Ethiopian Government
in Western Abyssinia.)

The report from London that an Ethiopian government and army existed in the vicinity of Gore is derided. Not all correspondents exclude the possibility of the presence in that region of Ethiopian officials or would-be officials,

but

but such writers belittle their importance, while one London correspondent affirms that in view of the activities of Captain Erskine at Gore (where there is a British Consulate) and Captain Maurice, known as the "Governor of Gambela," it is quite possible that a few Ethiopian figureheads may have been set up. These two British officers are accused of having long worked, contrary to the policy of Sir Sidney Barton, to incite the Gallas against the former Ethiopian government with a view to establishing British domination over that region of the Blue Nile. Most newspapers term the reported movement in western Abyssinia as "false and tendentious," and one writer states editorially that "Their Excellencies of Gore would in any case be Ministers of Eden rather than of Haile Sellasie" and that at all events were a squad of carabineers to make an appearance at Gore, the famous ministers would hastily imitate the example of their alleged ex-sovereign. Today news correspondents in London take note of Mr. Eden's disclaimure of any knowledge as to the real status of this alleged Ethiopian government.

Administration of Justice.

✓ Martial law prevails throughout the occupied territory. The press reports from Addis Ababa that certain individuals, denounced to the military authorities by the populations themselves, have had to be executed, after regular trial, for common crimes (murder and robbery). Such executions are not spoken of here as military measures, but as suppression of criminals. Few details are given as to executions, although the accusation of summary executions for futile motives made by the expelled correspondent of the London

TIMES are vigorously denied in an unofficial form.
(For further remarks on this subject see the section devoted to the military measures.)

Police duties are carried out in Addis Ababa and other centers by the Royal Carabineers, the Italian Military police force which performs similar duties in Italy.

A system of civil justice for Italians, foreigners, and natives, similar to that of Eritrea is now under study by the Office of the Civil Governor. Laws affecting natives will respect local customs (as is done in Eritrea) wherever these are compatible with the exigencies of civilization and public order.

Diplomatic Missions

701.0084 ✓
The attitude is maintained that diplomatic missions have no longer any reason to exist in Ethiopia, although immediately after the occupation of Addis Ababa Marshal Badoglio had assured them the exercise of diplomatic privileges--a polite intimation that diplomatic missions in the Empire existed--temporarily--by courtesy.

One or two Italian newspapers have evinced a certain impatience with the continued existence of diplomatic missions in Addis Ababa. The STAMPA, for example, in a boxed insert beside its last-page title, inquired how long those missions would remain, while the London correspondent of the GAZZETTA DEL POPOLO in the course of polemics with the expelled TIMES correspondent, points out that foreign legations have lost all diplomatic privileges and immunities, at least until such time as they have been transformed into consulates accredited to the Viceroy.

Foreigners

Foreigners in Ethiopia.

✓ All foreign residents in Addis Ababa were "invited" by ordinance of the Viceroy to report to carabinieri headquarters by May 19th, giving their personal and family data, consigning firearms, and declaring munitions in their possession. Those who refused to comply were subject to expulsion. Certain despatches dated May 19th stated that foreign residents had responded without incident. It was also reported that a special office at police headquarters had been created to handle matters pertaining to foreigners.

As to the two Swedish and one German citizen in charge of a Swedish mission at Debra Tabor, reported to have been taken from Debra Tabor to Gondar on April 29th pending investigation of their activities, no further information has appeared.

Very little has been said so far with regard to expulsions of undesirable foreigners from Ethiopia, although certain correspondents in London have been stung out of their reserve on the subject by the report telegraphed from Djibuti by George Steer, the expelled correspondent of the London TIMES.

The GAZZETTA DEL POPOLO in particular takes exception to Steer's remarks, stating in a despatch from London under yesterday's date that the individual in question is an Intelligence Agent and adding that the background of the TIMES' unrelenting hostility to the Abyssinian campaign lies in the fact that Major Astor, the largest shareholder of the newspaper, is also a shareholder and official of the Chase Bank of New York which, jointly with the Bank of England, controlled the Bank of Ethiopia. The GAZZETTA'S correspondent

correspondent shows very little sympathy with the French citizen De Robillard, whose case Steer depicted in pathetic colors, or with Monsigneur Jarosseau, expelled on the grounds of anti-Italian propaganda. He points out that Ethiopia is now Italian, and that therefore the special provisions made under treaty with the Negus' government in the matter of expulsion no longer hold: foreigners must fall in line and refrain from any undesirable activities or be resigned to ejection. The writer further asserts that Badoglio would be committing a great error if, particularly at the outset, he failed to evince the utmost firmness in such matters.

Assurances allegedly given the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires in Ethiopia by Marshal Badoglio have not been reported in the Italian press, although on May 14th it had reported from Tokyo that the Chargé would call on Badoglio to inquire as to the protection of Japanese residents and interests and that the Japanese Foreign Office had on May 12th expressed to the Italian Ambassador (who had called to give notification of the May 9th decrees) the hope that Japan's rights would be respected. The Vatican newspaper, however, on May 18th reported from Tokyo the information that Badoglio had told the Chargé d'Affaires, when the latter called to thank him for the protection accorded to the Japanese legation, residents, and property, that "the Italians were anxious to protect Japanese property."

Banking.

Italy, under the direction of personnel arrived from Italy a few days ago, was to open in Addis Ababa today. This institution will absorb the Bank of Ethiopia,

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334.516

Ethiopia, which has not been permitted to reopen. No explanation is offered--or perhaps needed--as to the reason for this refusal, nor do the newspapers comment on the report from London on May 14th that Mr. Collier, Governor of the Bank of Ethiopia, intended to return to Addis Ababa "to resume his post and to take care of the interests of the defunct Ethiopian government" whether the Italians liked it or not. Naturally the public wonders whether Mr. Collier will be granted the Italian consular visa which is required for entry into Ethiopia. (See also paragraph 3 of the section regarding foreigners).

Measures have been taken to curb exchange speculation. The Government and the Bank of Italy are studying the monetary question.

Fascist Organizations.

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Fascist Party headquarters were immediately installed following the occupation of the capital and the organization of the Fascio of Addis Ababa begun. As in Italy, among the duties of the Party fall commodity price control, handling of labor relations, organization of schools, and social welfare measures.

No time was lost in establishing an "Ethiopian Youth of the Lictor" along the lines of the Libyan Fascist Youth movement. The press emphasized the educational side of this movement rather than the militaristic character thereof, and it denies that the Ethiopian Youth organization is a step toward the formation of that black army which England dreads. (This subject will be discussed in a separate sketch referring to the general Mediterranean situation as between Italy and England.)

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous Provisions

965d.71
Among the many miscellaneous activities which the press reports are the functioning of the Italian post-office, opened in Addis Ababa on May 17th, air mail service, radio, telephone, and bus communications, supervision of railway service, passport inspection by the Railway Militia, supervision of business and trade, closing of shops charging exorbitant prices, encouragement of markets, opening of schools and hospitals, providing of water supply, and the establishment of Arabic as the official language of Harrar instead of Amharic.

Much importance is attributed to the announced census begun in Addis Ababa and to be extended throughout the country.

Development of Ethiopia.

✓
965d.52
Plans for the development and colonization of the newly acquired Empire are, from all reports, proceeding apace under the direct solicitation and supervision of the Government. It is emphasized that there is to be no haphazard exploitation or settlement, but a progressive, unified, organized movement through the medium of the corporative structure which is a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government and which embraces every branch of activity and every class of the people.

Notification has been published that all inquiries and projects by individuals or firms in connection with colonization, trade, agriculture, or other branches of colonial activity must at present be addressed to the Ministry of Colonies.

Active press propaganda is now being conducted to stimulate Italian interest in the new "battle of labor" in Ethiopia,

Ethiopia, on the one hand portraying the possibilities offered by the territory as well as appealing to national pride to put through the victory of colonization and civilization in the same brilliant fashion in which military victory was achieved and on the other hand emphasizing that sacrifice, faith, patriotism, and hard work will be required.

✓ Financing.

165d.15
The Public Works Financing Consortium ("Consorzio di Credito per le Opere Pubbliche") has allotted 100 million lire from its reserves as the initial capital of a separate section of that organization for the financing of public works in Ethiopia. The East Africa section will be authorized to issue bonds against capital invested. Commenting on this matter, the MESSAGGERO has declared editorially that only in exceptional cases and after very careful consideration will foreign capital be utilized in Ethiopia.

The Committee of Ministers, created in March for the protection of savings deposits, has issued general instructions on the policy to be followed with regard to credits for Ethiopia.

✓ Roads.

165d.154
On May 19th it was announced that Mussolini, as Minister of Colonies, had drafted the plan for road construction in Ethiopia and had ordered work to begin immediately on the following main arteries:

1. Om Aser-Gondar-Debra Tabor-Dessie (650 kilometers)
2. Debra Tabor-Debra Marcos-Addis Ababa (500 kilometers)
3. Adigrat-Dessie-Addis Ababa (850 kilometers)
4. Assab-Dessie (500 kilometers)
5. Addis Ababa-Jimma (300 kilometers)

Work

Work will then begin on the Addis Ababa-Allata-Neghelli-Dolo road (about 1100 kilometers) to connect the capital with the lake region and Somaliland. Simultaneously secondary transversal roads will be commenced.

The roads will be asphalted and equipped to guarantee traffic in all seasons and "for all requirements."

For this purpose a technical office of the Italian State Road Organization is being formed in Addis Ababa under the direction of the Viceroy, with a complete staff and equipment to begin work immediately. As the work progresses, upkeep will be in the hands of the Road Militia and the "cantonieri."

Ports.

There is no general discussion of port development, but frequent references to Assab and talk of the possibility of a canal from Assab across the Danakil depressions bear out the following information furnished by the Naples Consulate:

- "It is reported that Assab, rather than Massaua of Mogadiscio is to be developed as the principal port for future trade with the newly acquired territory. To this end an asphalt highway will be constructed to Addis Ababa via Dessie. Assab's closer proximity to Addis Ababa, its natural harbor and central position recommends it. However, the difficulties of terrain and extreme heat in below sea level portions of the proposed route would seem to constitute serious obstacles concerning which no information has been obtained.

10580.1561
Berbera (just south) as the first port in Somalia. It appears that Berbera is already the seat of all the trade in the area. It is the only port in the area, except for the small port of Berbera.

cotton, etc."

That Mogadiscio will not be developed is also borne out by newspaper descriptions of the nature of the port there and its impracticability for the handling of any intensive shipping.

Industrial Development.

A Commission headed by Count Volpi, President of the Industrialists Confederation, will shortly leave for Ethiopia to survey the industrial possibilities of the territory. (On May 12th it had been announced that the Chief of Government had instructed Volpi to have the interested corporative categories organize into comprehensive groups of technical, scientific, and practical men to study the resources of Abyssinia.)

Hydraulic surveys and plans are already under way for the generation of electric current to be supplied to mines and industrial plants throughout the country.

Scientific Research.

A Commission of the Royal Academy of Italy, headed by Alberto de'Stefani, will shortly leave for Ethiopia. Complete researches to determine the characteristics of the terrain will be conducted and a geological map will be made.

Mining and Oil Development.

52.5367
A semi-governmental organization, on the pattern of the Azienda Mineraria Metallurgica Italiana (Italian Mining and Metallurgy Concern), has been created, with capital furnished by the State and by other semi-governmental organizations. This concern, to be known as the "Azienda Mineraria per l'Africa Orientale," will buy off old mining concessions,

a number of which are already in Italian hands, and handle the development of all mineral resources; it will also control all private enterprise now existing in Eritrea. A complete plan of work is said to be now in process of drafting by this organization, which is already partially equipped for development of identified resources.

Meanwhile the Mining Inspectorate in East Africa is reported to be handling surveys, and modern laboratories and machinery are being installed at Asmara.

The Azienda Generale Italiana Petroli, according to press reports, is already working actively in Danakil, Aussa, and the Dahalac Islands, where oil has been found, and explorations are now going forward in the Harrar region.

Colonization.

All appropriate governmental and corporative organizations will cooperate in the work of colonization, especially the Undersecretary for Land Reclamation and the Commissariat for Migration. Once the general project is drawn up, the first contingents of workers and farmers will be sent into the various regions.

A Colonial Agricultural Office has been established in the Farm Laborers Confederation, headed by a committee of experts in colonial agriculture and syndical organization. This office is apparently to be equipped to furnish colonists, farm laborers, and experts whenever new contingents are called for.

There are many indications that the majority of the men now in Africa will be kept there, whether by orders or strong "inducements," for the simultaneous purposes of colonization

and

and development and of defense of the Ethiopian Empire, alternating, if need be, their use of the hoe and the rifle. There seems in any case little question of the troops' being released for some time to come, pending the definite disarmament and effective occupation of the entire Ethiopian territory and meantime they will unquestionably be used wherever possible in agricultural and other work of a non-military or semi-military character. It may be noted that Mussolini, awarding prizes to the "Faithful of the Land" (that is, peasants who have been attached to the soil for generations) on May 3rd, said that at least 400,000 of the troops now in Africa were farmers and that as they advanced they observed the quality of the soil and analyzed the possibilities of farming in Ethiopia (a statement which appears to be generally borne out by foreign observers with the Italian troops).

Full respect for the property rights of natives, it is asserted, will be guaranteed by the Government. There is no intention of depriving the Ethiopians of their lands, although it seems inevitable that there will be an effort to control and supervise their agricultural work with a view to increasing production. It is said that natives--and particularly the emancipated slaves--will be hired for agricultural as well as other work.

Respectfully yours,



Alexander Kirk
Chargé d'affaires ad interim.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

June 5, 1936

RECEIVED 1936 JUN 6 AM 11 50

JUN 6 - 1936

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Respectfully referred to the Secretary
of State.

M. H. McIntyre
M. H. MCINTYRE
Assistant Secretary
to the President



FILED
JUN 28 1936

Supreme Court
of the
State of New York



SALVATORE A. COTILLO
JUSTICE

1936 JUN 6 AM 11 50

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUSINESS CHAMBERS
NEW YORK COUNTY COURT HOUSE
NEW YORK, N.Y. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS

June 3, 1936

JUN 24 1936
DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS
JUN 8 1936
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 5 1936
RECEIVED

My dear Mr. President:

May I submit for your consideration a memorandum concerning American recognition over Ethiopia? Accompanying the memorandum is an open letter summarizing or digesting its main points.

Knowing the barrage of propaganda that must be flooding the country, my preparing and sending this memorandum is with but one point in view, namely to assist, in whatever slight manner is possible, America, in keeping a straight course.

I have taken the liberty of sending this memorandum because I know of your intense Americanism and of your undivided loyalty to American democratic principles.

Please do not consider it presumptuous of me to offer the last word on this perplexing subject, but having made a study of the situation and having had some contacts with political propaganda units of different races, I felt compelled to present my humble views.

I offer it to all Americans by one American tired of seeing America criticized and scolded for her refusal to play the game of "foreigners."

I have endeavored not to be technical and I repose, as I stated earlier, the utmost confidence in your judgment that the decision arrived at concerning the recognition of Italy's claims will be fair.

With best personal wishes, I beg to remain

very sincerely yours,

S. A. Cotillo

865D.01/100

FILED

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A MEMORANDUM
TO THE PRESIDENT
ON RECOGNITION OF THE ETHIOPIAN ANNECATION
-by-
SALVATORE A. COTILLO

A MEMORANDUM
TO THE PRESIDENT
ON RECOGNITION OF THE ETHIOPIAN ANNEXATION
-by-
SALVATORE A. COTILLO

THE FORCE AND EXTENT OF PROPAGANDA
PRECEDENTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW
THE NINE-POWER TREATY
THE KELLOGG PACT (PACT OF PARIS)
OUR NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION
RECOGNITION IN REALISTIC DIPLOMACY

A MEMORANDUM
TO THE PRESIDENT
ON RECOGNITION OF THE ETHIOPIAN ANNEXATION

Mr. President:

THE FORCE AND EXTENT OF PROPAGANDA

The American people are again about to be subjected to a barrage of foreign propaganda. We are going to be told what we should do concerning the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy. We will be pulled about and pushed about, just as if we were children with no minds of our own. And we will even be lectured to as if we were guilty of provoking a war and of having caused bloodshed.

During the African war, a parade of pro-Leaguers came here and lectured to us on our duty. So Arthur Salter, formerly secretary of the Economics Division of the League of Nations, the Nobel peace prize winner, Sir Norman Angel, the English archbishop of York, William Morrison, labor leader of London, Harold L. Laski, George Lansbury, as well as many others, told us we were blind if we did not see things their way. "Shun force, seek peace, stifle the aggressor, even take up arms and military force against them. Do this - do that - else woe betide the evil day that will befall you" - this was their universal plaint.

A veritable torrent of books, lectures, pamphlets and articles flooded this country. Some bore ancient and distinguished hall marks such as the Oxford University Press. Others carried university hall marks nearer at home. Peace

societies galore, foreign policy associations, world peace organizations - a host of societies with interlocking directorates, with similar addresses and telephones, all urged us to see the light and join up with the "heavenly" brigade.

"Conclusive" evidence was pointed to by them that the world was on the move, such for example, the so-called peace vote in England sponsored by Lord Cecil. What in 1935 was considered a mandate for peace, today turns out just as readily a declaration of war, but this time offered in the name of peace.

I respectfully submit, it is not difficult to see that much of this ^{is} propaganda, pure and simple, that most is not sincere though unquestionably some of it is. Nevertheless, it is an affront to the American people to be chastized and scolded and stormed at, just as if we were responsible for the war or for continuing the war now that the war is over. In fact we have been actually blamed for the war's continuance because of our refusal to join the League of Nations in extending sanctions.

In the light of these facts, and seeing how the military strategists such as Captain Liddell Hart of England, has blundered concerning the course of the war, and its sudden termination, how are we going to meet, interpret and decide the host of post-war acts?

We are definitely put on trial. For better or for worse, the whole sincerity of our neutrality legislation is to be put to the test much sooner than we anticipated.

The war having been concluded, what do we find? We find a series of unneutral acts. We find a series of acts designed more than ever before, to start a world conflagration. We see one power utilizing its war-ships to carry the abdicating king to a haven of safety. That haven is Palestine, which in itself is in a state of tremendous unrest. We find the League of Nations seating at its council table, the Ethiopian representative. We hear the allegation that a "secret capital" exists somewhere in the shadowy hills of Ethiopia, that the Negus has not given up, though he took all his gold with him.

We see, in short, the League of Nations, and not Ethiopia, preserving all of the outward manifestations designed to prolong a war which no longer exists. Instead of accepting the situation as a fait accompli, we find a definite danger created and enlarged through the refusal of the League to concede the Ethiopian submission; and going further, it is maintaining a position so as to make inevitable, continued hostilities.

If the spirit of the League of Nations was to preserve peace, to eliminate causes of war, to energetically pursue the means whereby hostilities are brought to cessation through compromise and conciliation, that purpose is abandoned through the League's adjournment from May 13th to June 10th, and refusing to look at the existence of the problem and decide on its solution. In fact, its vote to continue sanctions and not to remove sanctions is clearly a vote of vengeance and not in the spirit of peace. It is

an act designed to prolong and create war and not eliminate war.

As a result of these post-war conditions, Italy is slowly being driven out of the League by England. A disquieting situation is disclosed. The same Anglo-Italian tension is brought into being today which existed last fall, when, without warning, or authority by the League, England rushed 400,000 tons of armed ships into the Mediterranean.

Talk is had of breaking off diplomatic relations between these two old-time friends and more recently Allies in the great war to save democracy.

The common reason offered as to why England has done this is because of her idealism for the League. But few accept this as a sincere statement. Nor is there probably any one specific reason. Perhaps the best reason is that England is fearful of Italy's growing power in the Mediterranean. Sometimes it is stated that England fears her rights to the blue waters of the Nile at Lake Tana. But this is not so, according to Wynant Davis Hubbard who went to Ethiopia for first-hand information. He said:

"Years ago the Egyptian government sent engineers to study Lake Tsana. They climbed the mountains, they surveyed, and they reported. Lake Tsana is comparatively of no importance. The report, published in 1925, contains the following statement:

"The discharge of Lake Tsana corresponding to the highest levels of the flood amounts to only one-fiftieth of the volume of the Nile entering Egypt and regulation of same can make no appreciable difference

"I feel certain that the British government has long been aware of this fact and that Mussolini has also been aware of it. The latter has known or suspected that there was no great basis for truth in the legend of the value of Tsana and therefore has gone ahead with his Ethiopian plans confident that when the matter came to a showdown, Britain would not consider Tsana of sufficient value to fight for it. I believe that Mussolini also believed that Britain would not press her claims so long as he guaranteed a supply of water to Egypt and the Sudan....."

"For propaganda purposes it is difficult to suggest a better basis than that some country was threatening to deprive another of the water which it needed. Such a cry might cover anxious and covetous glances at potential oil and gold supplies."

"I am only guessing, but after having been in Ethiopia and having delved into the reports and writing about Tsana and the Blue Nile I have emerged with my tongue in my cheek. Of one point only do I feel certain: the lake itself is not as important as we have been led to believe. It is being used as a talking point, a verbal football being tossed about and kept in the air until diplomats determine what use they wish to make of it. The lake is of some actual value but its greatest use may be as a smoke screen, not as a reservoir."*

As Lawrence Dennis says:

"No Englishman is to be blamed for wanting to fight Italy or any other country if he believes such a war in the best interests of England. Nor should he be censured for trying to secure as many allies as possible for his country in that war by the use of the most unscrupulous propaganda, the most absurd exploitation of moral issues or the most barefaced lies. All is fair in love and war. Likewise, no Italian should be blamed for wanting his country to follow the illustrious examples of conquest and territorial aggrandizement which have made the United States, Britain and France great and powerful. But any American or Frenchman who would have his countrymen duped into fighting another nation's battle, be it that of Britain or Italy, when it is not the battle of his own country, should be deemed a poor patriot or a poor thinker or both." **

Mussolini has repeatedly offered the olive branch to England. It has been refused. Italy has been studiously insulted at Locarno. She has been rebuffed at Geneva. The best way this is concretely demonstrated is the apparent bitter feeling between Mussolini and Captain Eden, though probably each know very little of the other.

Why should we be drawn into this foreign European situation? What guide or tests have we to go by in deciding what to do. I offer two suggestions. Both are neutral in spirit. These are: (1) To stick to international law; (2) To stick to the neutrality legislation which represents the law of our land today and act under it regardless of whom it hurts.

PRECEDENTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

Italy has formally proclaimed the annexation of Ethiopia. Can she do this? International law tell us that "conquest followed by annexation is a recognized mode of acquiring domain.* For example, in the case of *Manoney vs. U. S.*, 10 Wallace (U.S.) 62, "it was held that the annexation of Algiers by France practically terminated American extraterritorial rights." Chief Justice Marshall said:

"Conquest gives a title which the courts of the conqueror cannot deny whatever the private and speculative opinion of individuals may be respecting the original justice of the claim which has been successfully asserted. And rarely have third states refused to recognize the new sovereignty issued over effectively annexed territory."**

A title resting on conquest is the permanent absorp-

Such a title resting on conquest is not complete until the conqueror has satisfied two requirements. In the first place he must possess the material strength to make his conquest good; and secondly, he must have and exhibit the intention of appropriation. As Mussolini publically has declared, 400,000 Italians are available for colonization in Ethiopia.*

The leading case on conquest is known as the case of Hessel Cassel.** When in 1806 Neopoleon drove the Elector of Hessel Cassel out of that land, he excluded him for eight years. In the meantime, Jerome Bonaparte was made King over Westphalia which now included Hessel Cassel. Bonaparte's regime was recognized by the Treaties of Tilsit (1807) and Schönbrunn (1809). As the Neopoleonic conquest was deemed "definitive," the ancient Hessel Cassel became politically "extinct" forever.

Ethiopia offers no armed resistance. Its king has abdicated. We are told that domain is usually considered essential to the existence of a sovereign state. Where all the territory of a state is annexed, sovereignty ceases to exist.

Subjugation takes place when a belligerent annihilates the forces and conquers the territory of the adversary and destroys its existence by annexation and the fact that the expelled head and government of the vanquished

* New York Times, May 1, 1935.

** 10 Hessel. 1. 1001 Hessel, Volume 3, pp. 841.

state protests and keep up their claims matters as little as do protests by neutral states. These protests may be of political importance for the future."*

And we have the words of English jurists themselves in the case of *Van Derventer vs. Hancke* (1903) Transvaal L. R. 401, that "from the viewpoint of a British Court, the South African burghers were a community or body of men possessing no territory as a state and under no form of government which such a court could recognize as legal."

There the same thought was put by Judge Pristowe in this language: "As, according to modern nations, in all events the possession of territory is essential to the existence of a state, the Proclamation (of annexation) taken in connection with the events which subsequently accrued, put an end from the moment of its issue, to the existence of the Republic (Boer) as a political unit."

Is not this which the British did to the Boers in Africa just a few years before, exactly what has happened in Ethiopia? No recognizable organs of government exist there. No organized forces are in the field. The subjugation of the country is complete. Here conquest confers ownership as "conquest followed by annexation is a recognized mode of acquiring domain."

* Oppenheim, *International Law*, volume 2, 8th Edition, 1935, p. 471.

Under such circumstances, what should be our policy with respect to recognition? Our recognition may be of two kinds. It may be formally declared or it may be acted upon as a fact and thus indirectly upheld. In one of the oldest cases, Council vs. the Conception, 6F Cas. No. 3137, 2 Wheel C. R. (N.Y.) 597, it was definitely stated "that expressed recognition is not necessary as the fact of sovereignty might be deduced from history, evidence or public notoriety." Or in the language of one of our own most eminent authority, John Bassett Moore, "it (recognition) may be implied as where a state enters into negotiations with the new state, sends it diplomatic agents, receives such agents officially, gives exequaturs to its consuls, and forms with its conventional relations."*

If the circumstance of conquest is a fact, international law clearly demands that we grant recognition and accept as a fact, the declaration of annexation.

THE NINE-POWER TREATY

Two treaties heretofore signed by us, remain to be considered. One is a special treaty affecting China and preserving her territorial status quo. alone. It is limited to a sphere of action having no reference to Ethiopia.

When put to the test, it is significant to note that the Stimson view of this so-called Nine Power Treaty

* Cf. I International Law Digest, 73.

was not affirmed by the eight other signatories. In that instance we were offending an Asiatic power whose hostility towards us was not lessened through the fact that the eight other countries did not enunciate a doctrine similar to that of Mr. Stimson's.

THE KELLOGG PACT (PACT OF PARIS)

The other is the Kellogg Pact signed in 1928 in Paris and adhered to by sixty-two nations. Sometimes this is called the Pact of Paris. In this document, the nations of the world renounced war as a policy for the solution of international controversies. The words are general. They refer to no specific war or territory. They touched upon no then existing conflict.

Two things are to be noted concerning the Pact of Paris, because both are of extreme and crucial importance. First, the instrument is perpetual. That is to say it has no time limitation. Second, the English are not bound by it to anything because Great Britain specifically wrote into it this reservation: "There are certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our (Briton's) peace and safety." Obviously such a reservation if made by all other nations, would reduce the Pact to mere verbiage.

But even with Britain out of the Pact or not bound for the Pact, does the Pact in fact bind anybody to anything? The answer is no. And this is because if it did

bind us to anything, would the United States Senate have approved it? The debates at the time in Congress clearly demonstrated that for all intents and purposes, the Paris Pact is a pious declaration of good intentions.

I recall in this connection the testimony on the floor of the United States Senate in January 1929, as follows:

"The treaty does not provide sanctions, expressed or implied. Should any signatory to the treaty or any nation adhering to the treaty violate the terms of same, there is no obligation, expressed or implied, upon the part of any of the other signers of the treaty to engage in punitive or coercive measures as against the nation violating the treaty."*

We are reenforced in this contention by the following statements. "The objective of the Paris Pact is the creation of a psychological state among nations favorable to the deliberate and considered dealings with those various problems from which differences and disputes grow."**

And Stanley Baldwin, the English Premier expressed this same sentiment when he said: "There is no such thing as a workable sanction which does not mean war."

His most recent pronouncement was uttered in the House of Commons on May 15th. It was uttered in the light

* Congressional Record, No. 29, pp. 1783-1784.

** Arthur C. Watkins. Story of the Paris Pact; published by the National Student Forum on the Paris Pact, Washington, D. C. p. 47.

of the experience of Locarno and of the Lthiopian War. The League was the subject of his discussion. Baldwin called for a change of policy, but he did not urge strengthening the League. Instead he advocated enlarging it so as to entice the entrance of the United States, Japan and Germany.

Indirectly he attacked France. He said: "You cannot be a sleeping partner. Neither does collective security mean that all the work is to be done by the British Navy."

Mr. Baldwin said he disliked the article which provides for measures against an aggressor and stated that he wanted article 16 changed so that a threat of war could be acted upon immediately. What the world was anxiously awaiting to hear, namely the taking of measures, designed to remove the causes of war, such as a conference with a view to a more equitable division of the sources of supply of raw materials and the dropping of restrictions against the free movement of immigrants from congested areas to sparsely congested countries was left unseen. On this point Baldwin was absolutely silent. Revising the League then, according to those in power in England, means adding military power to its present psychological powers. If anything, this is sure to stiffen United States opposition.

As if in further corroboration of this contention that the pact is more a declaration and not a treaty, one refers to the interpretation of the Pact by its own best friend, wherein it is stated: "The proposal to add to the Paris Pact an agreement to use military or naval

force against a nation or group of nations, is quite clearly to undermine the psychology of the Paris Pact.*

Thus clearly, the Paris Pact is not a means of enforcing anything, and so it lacks the very essence of a treaty. It remains a mere declaration of purpose. It is emasculated because it is just such a generalized deduction of good intentions and this the United States Senate readily saw in granting to it our adherence.

Perhaps no American has put it in more concise language than the educator, John Dewey of Columbia University, when he said that the covenant of the League of Nations must be brought into harmony with the Pact of Paris, because, unless "this is done, opposition to the adherence of the United States will continue. The one thing most certain in our psychology is that we shall not assent to any group of foreign powers, a disposition of our own decision as to our future course of action in matters involving war and the threat of war."

If any further proof is required, we again point to the Pact's friendly interpreters who say:

"Violations do not invalidate this international contract. A nation, temporarily controlled by a militaristic and imperialistic party, may disregard the pledge it has solemnly made and thus lose the 'benefits' of the treaty - the cordial cooperation of other nations. Or, a nation may set up the claim that its military operations are in self-defense. Such a nation has simply failed to live up to the level of the great agreement. It is sure to receive the reprobation of the rest of the world. The treaty stands as binding

* See Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, pp. 112-113.

upon all parties, even in the face of violations. It contains no provision for its abrogation. It was intended to be a permanent document. It was negotiated by the various governments because of the demand of public opinion, according to Secretary Kellogg. Its principles are grounded in the general moral conscience of the race."

Where, before the Pact, war was a legal remedy, after the Pact, war became illegal. Yet, deprived of a legal remedy, we find the Pact failing to provide for a duty on the part of any nation to submit its disputes to any recognized tribunal.

Thus abolishing war, the Pact left nothing in its place. But if you have the denial of some legal right, you must have a corresponding remedy or else the prohibition tends to become unreal, either because of some open and actual breach or the use of force, just short of war.

Thus we have a gap between a remedy and a duty. The Pact leaves this gap open. It is a serious defect. The Pact becomes brittle by virtue of it.

The illustration of four wars occurring, though the Pact was in existence, conclusively proves that the Kellogg Pact does not stop wars.*

Though the Pact says that solution of disputes may not be had through the force, it does not say anything about acts just short of force. Here is a real controversy. Peace is means for settling disputes alone is permitted.

There are those who say this excludes all acts, even though they fall short of war acts. The answer is that this refers to relations and not to the enforcement of existing relations.

We may now enumerate the defects of the Pact.

They are: (1) An uncertainty as to how far the prohibition of resort to war includes measures of force just short of war; (2) The absence of any provision for an authoritative measure whenever breaches of the Pact occur; (3) The failure to provide collective agreement of its obligations; (4) The absence of any duty to submit disputes between states to any binding settlement.

The attitude of the United States has been made abundantly clear that the pact is a mere gesture of friendship. This follows from the following facts, viz:

(1) In 1928 and 1932, the United States ratified the Habana Convention which affirmed in emphatic language the neutral's duties of impartiality.

(2) The United States gave its adherence in 1934 to the anti-war Treaty of Non-aggression and Conciliation which specifically excluded all direct sanctions for violations of the obligation not to resort to war and qualified any action on part of the non-participants as being undertaken solely "in their character of neutrals."

(3) Congress passed its resolution in 1934 empowering the President to declare an arms embargo but made it conditioned on its uniform applicability to all belligerents.

(4) This stressing of "uniform neutrality" was repeated in the resolutions of 1935 and again in 1936.

Clearly then, we face in the Paris Pact no treaty obstacle against recognition of the Ethiopian conquest. This is so, first, because as a treaty it lacks the force and vigor arising from any agreement binding or impinging on a nation's sovereignty; second, because there is implied in every treaty the right which is inalienable with any nation to determine for itself, regardless of treaty provisions, when and whether circumstances require recourse to war whenever a dispute concerning its boundaries or honor is involved.

OUR NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION

The second suggestion concerns our present neutrality legislation and the precedents it affects. Sooner than we wanted it, we are required to put to the test, the whole question of the efficacy of our neutrality policy.

Fortunately for us in this case, our decision is not of great importance. If we make any mistakes they can be easily rectified and that without any great consequences.

The circumstance of this little African episode has however, one main item of significance. That is the lesson as to whether one group in the racially composite population such as ours is, can emotionally sway the diplomatic policy of this country to accomplish/^{its} own selfish interests; whether one element can rule and influence the country's

policy for its own selfish ends. If so, the various newer racial groups may know now, that like as the Italian to-day, they next may be the victims of a strategically studied policy of one group working under moral facades, and through peace programs, collective security lures and other interests, all of which are subtle foreign propaganda.

We can begin to examine the situation with a review of the first neutrality legislation passed by us in 1935. There we strictly followed a policy of keeping out. That was our dominant note. To help or hurt another nation was clearly not even a subordinate issue. It was missing in its entirety. It was not even recognized as a probable motive. Once enacted, there followed the outbreak of the Ethiopian war. Then those who were in a position to make their influence on this country's diplomatic policy felt, saw now they had missed a chance. Then for the first time they publically proclaimed that this legislation was hastily put together and did not suffice. Suffice for what? This was never clearly explained.

With the advance of the Italian armies and the imposition of sanctions against Italy, a crusade began to mobilize public opinion in the United States, not in the cause of peace, but in the cause of war. That was, a war against Italy because she had been designated by the League as an aggressor. It was earlier mentioned how a parade of English lecturers, all in intimate contact with the diplomatic policy of England, came over to tell us what to do.

It is significant that not one Englishman appeared who told us that the League was hypocritical, insincere and selfish.

By this time, conferences were being held by the Senate and House Committees with a view to framing a permanent neutrality policy. Arguments were advanced pro and con. So convinced were our leaders, that all the morals were not on one side, that it was definitely declared additional time was necessary for consideration. As a result, the 1935 neutrality policy was re-enacted in 1936.

The test laid down in the public debates was whether or not we should or should not apply sanctions. The arguments advanced a decade or more before by Senator Borah and Senator Johnson against interference in European wars were repeated. We were happy that we had not been inveigled in then.

To apply sanctions meant to abandon international law and invited a new departure. It meant definitely to cripple Italy by depriving her of essential oils. The pro-sanctionists were definite that only by such a policy could they accomplish what they sought after, namely to defeat Italy.

The pro-English element who are a minority in our population, sponsored this division within our people here; that it set up groups and classes against each other within our masses was a minor concern.

The propaganda failed because it was not based on neutrality. It meant abandoning traditional American diplomatic doctrines such as the freedom of the seas and rewriting a new schedule on embargoable goods not recognized under international law. It definitely led us into making moral commitments in all foreign wars. The morality of such wars might even be decided by Asiatic nations sitting in the League of Nations; and Fascist or communistic nations too for that matter.

When the Nye Committee Investigation showed that our Americans faced an unfortunate conflict between neutrality and war profits, it became obvious to all that such a conflict should be removed from a possible repetition.

If, it is true, as Walter Millis says, "that our ambassadors were grossly indiscreet, this too should be removed from any possible repetition." His examples are illuminating. For instance:

"Ambassador Herrick showed his sympathy to the French in many 'grossly indiscreet ways.' When young American men visited him at the Embassy and asked whether they might enlist in the French army he read and explained to them the laws of neutrality, 'then closed the book and burst out: 'That is the law, boys, but if I was young and stood in your shoes, by God, I know what I would do.' They cheered, shook hands with the Ambassador and went out to enlist - and to be killed, most of them....and their 'influence upon sentiment at home', as Mr. Herrick later boasted, 'was tremendous.' When the State Department questioned Mr. Herrick as to whether the American ambulance service which he had created was succoring German wounded as well as French, the Ambassador 'rushed out one of his military attaches with a searching party' and brought in three wounded Germans from the battlefield and cabled Washington they were 'caring for Germans.' *

Again Millis affords this illustration:

"On December 3 Ambassador Page was bluntly informed that there was 'sharp criticism in this country.' of British high-handedness, and that something would have to be done. This new stiffness at last appears to have prodded Page into some realization of the true position, and he replied on December 7 with a proposed 'working arrangement' with Great Britain, in which he had attempted to consolidate the whole introcate problem - markedly to the British advantage."

"Was this, one wonders, the celebrated occasion afterward recorded by Sir Edward Grey? 'Page came to see me at the Foreign Office one day and produced a long despatch from Washington contesting our claim to act as we were doing in stopping contraband going to neutral ports. 'I am instructed,' he said, 'to read this despatch to you.' He read, and I listened. He then said: 'I have now read the despatch, but do not agree with it; let us consider how it should be answered!' Long after the war was over a friend once remarked to Sir Edward that this was all very well, but what would the Foreign Minister have said if one of his own Ambassadors had offered to advise the government to which he was accredited upon how to answer one of Grey's despatches? 'Ah, well,' he responded diplomatically, 'Page and I stood in very special relations to one another'- which was certainly true.' It certainly was, and the point need be labored no longer. As Sir Edward put it in his own memoirs: 'The comfort, support and encouragement that (Page's) presence was to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in London may be imagined.' "

"British liberals desirous of seeing the war brought to an end pointed out to Colonel House, the President's special representative abroad, 'the patent fact that by embargoing all exports to all belligerents, Mr. Wilson could force the British Government 'to do practically what it desired'; he urged that the President should lay down a new code of international law and insist upon every nation living up to it.' Colonel House contented himself with pointing out 'some of the difficulties this would involve.' "

"When in 1913 Col. House went to Europe to offer peace proposals, Gerard wrote him the moment was ripe for coming to Berlin. The German Foreign Minister invited him. House showed the communications to Sir Edward Grey in London. The British Government advised him against going to Berlin.

House informed Wilson of his objections to visiting Germany. 'President Wilson rather abruptly awoke, and there came a sharp cable: 'If an impression were to be created in Berlin that you were to come only when the British Government thought it an opportune time to come, you might be regarded when you reach there as their spokesman rather than mine.' " *

It became apparent that neutrality^{was}/something which could not be hastily passed upon.

The League has come to America and made its play for our support through its pro-League organizers. It failed to convince us that they were sincere. We became satisfied that American neutrality was not going to be easy to define, and that everybody was on the "suspect list" so far as motives and morals were concerned.

We have never failed to rigidly adhere to all of the amenities required in maintaining intact the rights of neutrals and the "doctrine of neutrality" in international law. Because no provisions were made to enforce the Kellogg Pact, the Pact has not affected the laws of neutrality. The signatories have no obligation to abandon any and all treaties of neutrality to the disadvantage of the lawbreaker. No such changes in neutrality can be made or brought about by unilateral action of any one state.**

This seems to be the general understanding, namely that "barring secret understandings, therefore, nothing in

* See, e.g., 111; Road to War, p.

** Cf. 111. International Law, 5th Edition, 1935, p. 516.
Am. American Journal of International Law XXII, 1928,
pp. 167-169.

the Kellogg Pact has changed the American attitude in respect to neutral rights. Nor is there anything in the Pact which binds her not to offer resistance in case a belligerent oversteps the law of maritime capture in dealing with her shipping.*

Thus neutrality is far from dead. Another well known American author accepts this view basing his conviction that not even the covenant abolishes neutrality even for member states.**

RECOGNITION IN REALISTIC DIPLOMACY

Now let us take stock where we stand so that we may know how to do the right thing now that the war is over. This is important because as the public press reports that the League of Nations intends to continue sanctions, once again our happy refusal to join with the League prevents us from lining up in a policy which no longer is a policy of sanctions but is a policy of vengeance instead.

First and most important let us do nothing to bring down ridicule upon us. Let us avoid backing unrealities because if we do, the next obvious deduction is an accusation of hypocrisy.

* Crecraft; Freedom of the Seas, page 174.

** Jessup; American Neutrality and International Police.

Let us illustrate. In Asia, we do not recognize the existing government in Manchuria. We do still recognize a defunct Chinese autonomy there, not based on anything in fact.

Under the Nine-Power Treaty, Mr. Stimson enunciated our policy of non-recognition. The Nine-Power Treaty left him no other alternative. There lay an instrument specifically created to preserve the territorial integrity. Three years have passed and we have our first example of a policy where we recognize a country, which has ceased to exist; and have failed to recognize an existing state evidently destined to survive. Diplomatic policy so contradictory to settled facts in fields so foreign or alien to what Professor Charles A. Beard calls "our defensible interests" tends to border on the ludicrous.

To apply the Stimson doctrine in Africa may easily duplicate such a questionable performance, excepting this time we would not have the concrete applicability of a specific treaty directly designed to save Ethiopia. In such an event, we would have, by holding on to the old set of facts, still another Minister without duties, and credited again to a non-existent regime. And vice versa, the existence of an African territory whose ten million inhabitants and 300,000 square miles of territory remains a blind spot in our diplomatic lexicon.

Such unrealistic diplomacy can bring no glories to America.

Let us reflect back on our Russian experience. With the outbreak of communism there, we closed the diplomatic door and kept it closed for fourteen long years. Then we found a circuitous road to the inevitable recognition which followed. England waited for twelve years before recognizing the revolutionary government of France. We hedged many years before we negotiated through diplomatic overtures through Obregon with Mexico, having refused to recognize the Huerta regime. Delays are merely face saving, experience shows. If there was something to be gained by waiting, there might be something to be said for this unrealistic attitude. If the spirit of the Pact of Paris means anything, it means to grant recognition now and avoid a prolongation of war. In this way alone may we help keep the peace of Europe at least unimpaired. In this way we will help save the interests of the League of Nations and the face of England besides. All we need to do is to stick to international law.

What better statement on the inevitability of recognition is to be found than the words of the anonymous writer* who said:-

"We have maintained relations with polygamists, with slave states, with despots and Sultans; we have dealt with cannibals and other races who did not conform with the dietary and moral standards of Main Street. The notion that we must endorse the domestic institutions of any country whose diplomatic existence we recognize is a new element in world politics, and is a distinct luxury in world trade. Where our interests are at stake we may find it our moral duty to overlook the collective heresay of

the Soviets and to tolerate their naive desire to convert us from the error of our capitalistic ways."

We have the words of Mr. Stimson himself uttered in 1931, as to the ruling practice. He said:-

"The practice of this country as to the recognition of new governments has been substantially uniform from the days of the administration of Secretary of State Jefferson in 1792 to the days of Secretary of State Bryan in 1913.... This general policy, as thus observed, was to base the act of recognition not upon the question of the constitutional legitimacy of the new government but upon its de facto capacity to fulfill its obligations as a member of the family of nations. This country recognized the right of other nations to regulate their own internal affairs of government and disclaimed any attempt to base its recognition upon the correctness of their constitutional action."

It is the able judgment of Mr. Adee, who for many years was a trusted assistant to the Secretary of State, that:

"Ever since the American Revolution entrance upon diplomatic intercourse with foreign states has been de facto, dependent upon the existence of three conditions of fact: the control of the administrative machinery of the state; the general acquiescence of its people; and the ability and willingness of their government to discharge international and conventional obligations. The form of government has not been a conditional factor in such recognition; in other words, the de jure element of legitimacy of title has been left aside."

"Foreign Affairs quarterly" for January 1931 quotes a paragraph from the draft convention prepared by the Pan American Juridistical Convention at Rio de Janeiro, as follows:

"Every abnormally constituted government may be recognized if it is capable of maintaining order and tranquility and is disposed to fulfill the international obligations of the Nations."

When Secretary of State Colby, during the Wilson administration, enunciated a different doctrine from the above, its consequences are best shown by numerous authorities, both official and legal, that the corollary of such a departure was military intervention in the affairs of other states. John Bassett Moore described such a change of policy as follows:

"Not only does our recent departure keep us in an attitude of intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, but it has indoctrinated our people in the preposterous and mischievous supposition that the recognition of a government implies approval of its constitution, its economic system, its attitude towards religion, and its general course of conduct. Not only is this supposition contrary to elementary principles of international law, which assure to each independent state the right to regulate its domestic affairs, but it is flagrantly at variance with the facts. It is, for instance, inconceivable that the government of the United States has at any time approved all the governments with which it held diplomatic relations."

Paul Cravata, an international lawyer of repute substantiates this conception in saying:

"Our government has frequently established cordial diplomatic relations with governments that were notoriously autocratic and vicious."

"Usually the sole test that our government seeks to apply is whether the new government is sufficiently entrenched in power effectively to govern within its own borders and to perform its international obligations. After that test has been met, our government in the recognition of governments in the eastern hemisphere does not concern itself with the morals or motives of the government seeking recognition."

With such an abundant proof to lead and guide us, we should not have any difficulty in deciding that the safest way for America to determine how to help extricate Europe and the League of Nations out of its present impasse, is for America to act in accordance with its past experience. That experience would call for recognition of Italy's claims over Ethiopia now.

Europe will doubtlessly call us names. It will also continue its scolding. At least we have done our part in closing the door against one more possible European conflagration. We would thus pull the League of Nations out of an awkward position and save England's face at the same time.

Let us not again do the quixotic in diplomacy. Neutrality requires that we recognize Italy's claim over Ethiopia. To refuse is to be unneutral.

Let us imitate the English in their realistic diplomacy. In 1933, though the League found Japan an aggressor, Great Britain announced an arms embargo applicable equally against both China and Japan. This was to demonstrate English neutrality, it was said,

When accused of unneutrality, Sir John Simon replied in the House of Commons, "I do not intend my country, (Mr. Stimson to the contrary) to get into trouble."* Is this not of great significance concerning what our stand should be on recognition in Ethiopia? No one has put it as concisely as Professor Earl Willis Greecraft:**

There was a government which apparently had been coaxing the American State Department to

* * * * *

make a pledge not to demand neutral rights at sea during a European war in which the British fleet was engaged in curbing an 'aggressor' under the Covenant and Kellogg pact. Here was a government that was now declaring that it was obligated as an impartial government to treat Japan and China alike; and that it would not involve itself in such a distant conflict. Here was a member of the League that was acting on the principle that neutrality was still a right and a duty, despite what the League thought of the injustice of the Japanese side. Here was a government that refused to be drawn into a conflict which was far away from its center of interest. Here was a government that preferred 'isolation.' Here was a government which - Mr. Stimson to the contrary - did not care to take the League's idea of who the culprit was; and which gave Americans more reason than ever for not desiring arms embargo pacts and 'consultation' pacts when such pacts meant the pledging away of their own neutrality in wars in which America was not attacked."

By all means, realistic diplomacy compels us to be just as neutral in Africa as England has been, the Kellogg Pact notwithstanding, in Asia. The moral is; Recognize Ethiopia as annexed Italian territory. This is but to pursue our rights as neutrals for which we have insisted throughout many times since 1928 when the Kellogg Pact was signed.

If, on a finding of fact, though no war was declared, you saw fit, Mr. President, to proclaim the existence of a state of belligerency, I urge you, in the name of American fair play, consistency and logic, to now indulge in a similar finding of fact that no longer is there any war. If such is the case, the American people fairly may demand that you proclaim the end of a state of belligerency and further, that the temporary prohibitions, heretofore pronounced by you, such as non-travel on Italian ships, be rescinded.

The American people would support a realistic attitude by your administration concerning the recognition of Italy's claims over Ethiopia. The first step, courageous but factual, is for you to set aside as inoperative, our neutrality legislation, specifically temporarily in character, and designed to be ineffective with the cessation of hostilities. I urge this practical attitude upon you, especially when it carries with it an added assurance for ensuring peace in Europe.

Let us keep anchored to present day realities. The sanctity of treaties per se means nothing when removed from present day realities. Everyone welcomes the day when diplomatic realism and actual world realities may coalesce and thus occupy similar moral planes. If such a desired world morality existed today, then Germany and Italy would have no trouble or have to fight England and France for colonial territory or lands containing the sources of raw materials deemed necessary for their congested populations.

In addition, disturbing impediments to migration movements of peoples would be removed all in/^a spirit of harmony. Only nationalism and human nature prevents this Utopia today.

How sacred is a treaty? Not the ink which has been used, but the self-interest of the nations sought to be bound thereby. Sound diplomacy and constructive statesmanship causes treaties to conform, always approximately of course, with self-interest equitably balanced between all the signatories.

Yours truly,
Wm. L.

provisions not only contrary to the Wilsonian spirit, but also against the self-interest of many of the smaller signatories, produced a Hitler and the Ethiopian conquest today.

Putting the matter on a realistic basis, and avoiding sham and hypocrisy, one may well say that treaties are bound to be violated when arranged for wrong purposes and are in that sense wrong treaties.

If the signature of the conforming party is pointed to as having been abrogated, the answer is that certain men temporarily in power then represented those nations who had no valid significance either in statesmanship or national honor.

Let us look to the morals of the situation. Those men who signed such untrue treaties, did not truly represent their nations. As a result, the paper they signed is doomed to extinction.

Covenant clauses 19 and 21 which were inserted because Wilson foresaw the forthcoming economic disputes, were placed in the discard by France and England. They have not been invoked. To honor one clause and ignore another, represents statesmanship which must be repudiated. This is because it assumes a status quo, fixed for all times, when those who have fought with diminishing populations, claim all the best places in which to live and the richest soil, while those who have insufficient but with teeming populations, remain outside. No partition is necessary.

An example is again the Treaty of Versailles. First, it fixed the costs of the war on Germany. Then it took away the sole means by which Germany could possibly pay those costs so assessed. Emotion run amuck such as this, violates every rule of reason. It thus became a shotgun treaty and it violated the national-interests of Germany. Its repudiation was foredoomed. By this repudiation, the instrument itself ill-served England, France, the rest of the world, as much as Germany.

Examining the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war, we find this termed essentially a document to ensure peace. As a matter of fact the price of peace it exacts, is the perpetuation of the Treaty of Versailles' errors. This is so because the minute Germany attempts to separate the fetters which bind the Covenant and the Treaty together, she has automatically violated the Paris Pact and automatically is deemed to have started a "war of aggression." Once more the hounds are called to the chase. The vicious circle can never be broken in the interests of peace. It can be broken only to start a new war.

When the first illustration of a national self-interest wave lifted its head, as it did in Japan in 1931, the Paris Pact was available to denounce her as an aggressor even though this ran contradictory to Japan's national self-interests and manifest-destiny in Asia. We were calm and the Timson doctrine were announced. By it we were launched into a threatening attitude towards

a major power without our national self-interest requiring it.

So the Kellogg Pact should not have been signed, since it represented no workable arrangement in world relations. In other words, such a treaty, like a bad law, is indubitably to be broken. To insist that we go to war on account of it, is to ignore strong national trends. It is positively immoral to stigmatize the act of abrogation of any general treaty as an act of national dishonor, because if we do this we exalt forms over facts; we employ gestures instead of realities and we lay up in store for us the danger of a day of reckoning in the future.

Treaty sanctity and essential fairness depends on national self-interest between the contracting parties. This is true in private law and public law. International law affords no exception to this rule. Let us have as much faith in national trends as we have in diplomacy or statesmanship. In fact, of the two, it is safer to trust the former because it is not so evanescent as the latter. Treaties that deserve to endure, will endure; those that do not, will not. There is a survival test in the field of treaties just as there is in every other form of human activity.

The sanctity of treaties has never been considered an absolute principle in the practice of most states. This

much history assures us. If mighty, the violator was exonerated. If weak, or small, criticism and condemnation surely followed.

In the present instance, one calls to mind the London Pact of April 26, 1915, where England, France and Russia gave Italy specific promises and which granted Italy certain lands in Africa for her aid to the Allies. Who doubts today that Italy has not been cheated and that the present Ethiopian war was/^{not}a direct result of Italy's violated treaty rights?

As between the "vital rights of a people" and the principle of "sanctity of treaties," many anxious questions are asked, both as to their purpose, and the problem of primacy. Discrepancies are created between these two fundamental positions. There is the treaty which guarantees the status quo and which offends national honor or fails to provide a workable arrangement for their progressive modification to meet new and changed conditions.

Does/^{not}the Paris Pact do just this? Who can doubt that the unbridled nightmare of present European diplomacy arises from existing treaties, pacts, alliances, growing nationalistic, racial, religious and territorial lines so as to evolve an anthropological no-man's-land that cannot be understood by the masses who are controlled by these treaties, alliances and pacts. So a community of nations becomes a caricature instead of a reality.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. Cottillo
S. A. COTTILLO

1072 Park Avenue
New York City

June 5th, 1936

To the President
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:-

"Future events cast their shadows before." This has for American diplomacy today a great significance. I call your attention to what the public press reports are agitations and disturbances in Palestine, wherein the English accuse the Italians of exercising unfair propaganda. This agitation, in a far-away land, may be the means of starting another war in Europe and on behalf of all Americans here, I take the liberty to address to you, this open letter, calling your attention to the potential dangers in any future embroilment by us.

Though occupied with the many duties of a Justice of the Supreme Court here, yet from the standpoint of an American interested in maintaining strict neutrality, I have made a study of the situation in foreign affairs as it affects our relations in the Ethiopian dispute.

For this reason, I thought it my duty, representing as I did in 1918 the United States government in Europe and in Italy particularly, to offer what little aid I can to this country, because of my deep appreciation of the good I have received here.

It is discouraging to read in the public press statements accredited to a member of the House of Lords made in the English Parliament, that upon your re-election they (the foreigners) can depend upon you to push this country's influence on the side of England, on the side of the League of Nations, on the side of other interests other than those primarily American. I desire to blast this infamous statement, because, knowing as I do of your deep loyalty to America and to the supreme trust placed

upon you by the American people, I am confident that whatever decision you arrive at, will be fair, impartial and above all else, American. Knowing you as I do, I can truthfully say for the benefit not only of Italian Americans, but for all Americans that your decision will be fair and just and afford no basis in fact for such calumnies.

If the memorandum I enclose herewith can be of any assistance to you, either through its formulation of the facts or presentation of one of the viewpoints involved, it will have served its purpose.

We have heard in the past, how wars were made for America, not in Washington but in foreign capitals. It is asserted by international lawyers that our war of 1812 was thus made. It is repeated in places too numerous to mention, that the same situation was duplicated in 1917. For this reason no effort should be spared to acquaint our people with the true facts and thus put in your hands a weapon so as to influence public opinion and enable us to religiously eschew these influences from foreign sources, and remain neutral, not only in spirit but also in fact.

A coming question before you as Chief Executive of the American nation is the problem of recognition of Italy's rights to sovereignty over Ethiopia. Concerning the solution of this problem in my memorandum, I offer two suggestions. Both are offered in my humble capacity as an American citizen and both are neutral in spirit. One, is that in determining this question we stick to the precedents afforded through international law; the other is, that we base our policy on realistic diplomacy.

I perhaps can make clear what I mean when I quote the following from my memorandum:

"With the advance of the Italian armies and the imposition of sanctions against Italy, a crusade began to mobilize public opinion in the United States, not in the cause of peace, but in the cause of war. That was, a war against Italy because she

had been designated by the League as an aggressor.

"By this time conferences were being held by the Senate and House Committees with a view to framing a permanent neutrality policy. Arguments were advanced pro and con. So convinced were our leaders that all the morals were not on one side, that it was definitely declared additional time was necessary for consideration. As a result, the 1935 neutrality policy was re-enacted in 1936.

"The test laid down in the public debates was whether or not we should or should not apply sanctions. The arguments advanced a decade or more before by Senator Borah and Senator Johnson against interference in European wars were repeated. We were happy that we had not been inveigled in then.

"To apply sanctions meant to abandon international law and invited a new departure. It meant definitely to cripple Italy by depriving her of essential oils. The pro-sanctionists were definite that only by such a policy could they accomplish what they sought after, namely, to defeat Italy.

"The pro-English element who are a minority in our population, sponsored this division within our people here; that it set up groups and classes against each other within our masses was a minor concern.

"The propaganda failed because it was not based on neutrality. It meant abandoning traditional American diplomacy doctrines such as the freedom of the seas and rewriting a new schedule on embargoable goods not recognized under international law. It definitely led us into making moral commitments in all foreign wars. The morality of such wars might even be decided by Asiatic nations sitting in the League of Nations; and Fascist or communistic nations too, for that matter."

"It became apparent that neutrality was something which could not be hastily passed upon."

The League has come to America and made its play for our support through its pro-League organizers. It failed to convince

us that they were sincere. We became satisfied that American neutrality was not going to be easy to define, and that everybody was on the "suspect list" so far as motives and morals were concerned.

Now let us take stock where we stand so that we may know how to do the right thing now that the war is over. This is important because as the public press reports that the League of Nations intends to continue sanctions, once again our happy refusal to join with the League prevents us from lining up in a policy which no longer is a policy of sanctions but is a policy of vengeance instead.

First and most important let us do nothing to bring down ridicule upon us. Let us avoid backing unrealities because if we do, the next obvious deduction is an accusation of hypocrisy.

Let us illustrate. In Asia, we do not recognize the existing government in Manchuria. We do still recognize a defunct Chinese autonomy there, not based on anything in fact.

Under the Nine-Power Treaty, Mr. Stimson enunciated our policy of non-recognition. The Nine-Power Treaty left him no other alternative. There lay an instrument specifically created to preserve her territorial integrity. Three years have passed and we have our first example of a policy where we recognize a country which has ceased to exist; and have failed to recognize an existing state evidently destined to survive. Diplomatic policy so contradictory to settled facts in fields so foreign or alien to what Professor Charles A. Beard calls "our defensible interests" tends to border on the ludicrous.

To apply the Stimson doctrine in Africa may easily duplicate such a questionable performance, excepting this time we would not have the concrete applicability of a specific treaty directly designed to save Ethiopia. In such an event we would have by holding on to the old set of facts, still another Minister

without duties, and credited again to a non-existent regime. And vice versa, the existence of an African territory whose ten million inhabitants and 350,000 square miles of territory remains a blind spot in our diplomatic lexicon. Such unrealistic diplomacy can bring no glories to America.

From these citations, I conceive it desirable that we attempt no experiments; that America stick to that which is tried, tested and in the past found sufficient; and finally, that the interests of America compel that we attempt no other course.

My second suggestion, that we place our recognition to Italy's claims over Ethiopia on a realistic basis is readily supported by a reference to the following excerpts again taken from the accompanying memorandum.

"It is instructive to note that the second half of the Nineteenth century alone provides five instances of annexation, similar to Italy's recent annexation of Ethiopia, where one State has annexed the entire territory of another State, without the latter's consent and without any treaty providing for its cessation. Three of these annexations were of Colonial territory:

"(1) On January 1, 1886, following the Third Burmese War, Great Britain, by a Proclamation of Lord Dufferin, annexed the independent Kingdom of Burma. The territory thus conquered is now known as the Province of Upper Burma, and constitutes a Province of the Indian Empire under the Central Government of India.

"(2) In 1896, France annexed Madagascar, after a military expedition had been sent to the Island, Madagascar is now a thriving French Colony.

"(3) In 1900 Great Britain by Proclamations made May 24th and September 1st respectively, annexed the independent Orange Free State and South African Republic (The Transvaal). These territories now form part of the Union of South Africa, a British Dominion.

referred
/ to above occurred in Europe and were the following:

"(4) In 1860, Sardinia annexed the Emilian Province of Naples and Sicily. This, however, was not a true conquest, since it followed a popular vote of the inhabitants of the annexed territories in favor of such union, and was preceded by popular risings which had overthrown the ruling houses of such territories.

"(5) In 1866 and 1867, Prussia, by unilateral decree, annexed Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, the Free Town of Frankfort-on-the-Main, Holstein and Schleswig."

Let us reflect back on our Russian experience. With the outbreak of communism there, we closed the diplomatic door and kept it closed for fourteen long years. Then we found a circuitous road to the inevitable recognition which followed. England waited for twelve years before recognizing the revolutionary government of France. We hedged many years before we negotiated through diplomatic overtures through Obregon with Mexico, having refused to recognize the Huerta regime. Delays are merely face saving, experience shows. If there was something to be gained by waiting, there might be something to be said for this unrealistic attitude. If the spirit of the Pact of Paris means anything, it means to grant recognition now and avoid a prolongation of war. In this way alone may we help keep the peace of Europe at least unimpaired. In this way we will help save the interests of the League of Nations and the face of England besides. All we need to do is to stick to international law.

"Europe will doubtlessly call us names. It will also continue its scolding. At least we have done our part in closing the door against one more possible European conflagration. We would thus pull the League of Nations out of an awkward position and save England's face at the same time.

Let us not again do the Quixotic in diplomacy. Neutrality requires that we recognize Italy's claim over Ethiopia. To refuse is to be unneutral.

Let us imitate the English in their realistic diplomacy. In 1933, though the League found Japan an aggressor, Great Britain announced an arms embargo applicable equally against both China and Japan. This was to demonstrate English neutrality, it was said.

When accused of unneutrality, Sir John Simon replied in the House of Commons, "I do not intend my country, (Mr. Stimson to the contrary) to get into trouble." Is this not of great

significance concerning what our stand should be on recognition in Ethiopia?

By all means, realistic diplomacy compels us to be just as neutral in Africa as England has been, the Kellogg Pact notwithstanding, in Asia. The moral is: Recognize Ethiopia as annexed Italian territory. This is but to pursue our rights as neutrals for which we have insisted throughout many times since 1928, when the Kellogg Pact was signed.

If, on a finding of fact, though no war was declared, you saw fit, Mr. President, to proclaim the existence of a state of belligerency, I urge you, in the name of American fair play, consistency and logic, to now indulge in a similar finding of fact that no longer is there any war. If such is the case, the American people fairly may demand that you proclaim the end of a state of belligerency and further, that the temporary prohibitions, heretofore pronounced by you, such as non-travel on Italian ships, be rescinded.

The American people would support a realistic attitude by your administration concerning the recognition of Italy's claims over Ethiopia. The first step, courageous but factual, is for you to set aside as inoperative, our neutrality legislation, specifically temporarily in character, and designed to be ineffective with the cessation of hostilities. I urge this practical attitude upon you, especially when it carries with it an added assurance for ensuring peace in Europe.

Let us keep anchored to present day realities. The sanctity of treaties per se means nothing when removed from present day realities. Everyone welcomes the day when diplomatic realism and actual world realities may coalesce and thus occupy similar moral planes. If such a desired world morality existed today, then Germany and Italy would have no trouble or have to fight England and France for colonial territory or lands containing the sources of raw materials deemed necessary

for their congested populations.

In addition, disturbing impediments to migration movements of peoples would be removed all in a spirit of harmony. Only nationalism and human nature prevents this Utopia today. I say in my memorandum:

Examining the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war, we find this termed essentially a document to ensure peace. As a matter of fact the price of peace it exacts is the Perpetuation of the Treaty of Versailles' errors. This is so because the minute Germany attempts to separate the fetters which bind the Covenant and the Treaty together, she has automatically violated the Paris Pact and automatically is deemed to have started a 'war of aggression.' Once more the hounds are called to the chase. The vicious circle can never be broken in the interests of peace. It can be broken only to start a new war.

"When the first illustration of a national self-interest wave lifted its head, as it did in Japan in 1931, the Paris Pact was available to denounce her as an aggressor, even though this ran contradictory to Japan's national self-interests and manifest-destiny in Asia. We were caught in the net and the Stimson doctrine was announced. By it we were launched into a threatening attitude towards a major power without our national self-interest requiring it."

Treaty sanctity and essential fairness depend on national self-interest between the contracting parties. This is true in private law and public law. International law affords no exception to this rule. Let us have as much faith in national trends as we have in diplomacy or statesmanship. In fact, of the two, it is safer to trust the former because it is not so evanescent as the latter. Treaties that deserve to endure, will endure; those that do not, will not. There is a survival test in the field of treaties just as there is in every other form of human activity.

In the present instance, one calls to mind the London Pact of April 26, 1915, where England, France and Russia gave Italy specific promises and which granted Italy certain lands in Africa for her aid to the Allies. Who doubts today that Italy has not been cheated and that the present Ethiopian War was not a direct result of Italy's violated treaty rights?"

I honestly believe that your enunciated doctrine of a "good neighbor" falls harmoniously in line with the doctrine of realistic diplomacy that I favor in my humble capacity as citizen.

Why should we not, instead of backing a questionable international League of Nations, develop a Pan-Americanism here on the basis that the similarity of interests of the nations here, both large and small, on this western hemisphere, calls for a unity of action and a parallelism of interest such as is out of question, impossible to achieve in Asia, Europe and in Africa?

You have therefore sounded a real note of optimism and of hope in foreign affairs through your program of a good neighbor and your Pan-American Peace Organization movement. The eyes of this nation are watching you. So too are other nations, though possibly from a different angle of interest.

No one can deny that the prolongation of sanctions in Europe is no longer in the interests of war, but is based on a policy of vengeance.

America cannot afford to sustain expressly or impliedly, such a doctrine. First, because it is not American and second, because it would be to continue to hold open the door to the possible further outbreak of new wars in foreign lands. America's attention, therefore, Mr. President, is upon you and we are confident you will do the right thing.

Congress is still in session, and seeing that the neutrality legislation of 1935-36 was promulgated to remain effective only during the continuance of war, now that the Ethiopian

War is no longer a fact, in all fairness and with deep earnestness, I urge upon you to demonstrate American impartiality, American fair play, and a true American neutrality and rescind the operation of that legislation by virtue of the cessation of hostilities. This would stamp the policy of your administration with a courageousness and a fearlessness that would rebound to America's credit both at home and abroad. It would be but to anticipate what the League will ultimately do, namely, eradicate sanctions, and also the course of other nations, by recognizing the fait accompli. It would compel respect for America. It would stifle the propagandists here of minorities seeking to disseminate propaganda among us for selfish purposes; it would silence any criticisms that have cropped out in the past that we hear asserting we favor one side as against the other; it would afford an irrefutable illustration that we intend to be "neutral" and it would set a guide post for future American action.

I offer, Mr. President, these few suggestions in a spirit of helpfulness and I am sure you will accept them in that and in no other spirit.

My deep interest in this problem causes me not to want to leave any stone unturned where I might return in some small measure the benefits which I have received here.

Wishing you, Mr. President, every good success in this trying field, I am

Very sincerely yours,



SALVATORE A. COTILLO

June 11 1936

In reply refer to
WE 865D.01/100

The Honorable
S. A. Otillo,
Justice, Supreme Court of the
State of New York,
New York, New York.

Sir:

The receipt is acknowledged, by reference from the White House, of your letter of June 3 enclosing a memorandum to the President entitled "On Recognition of the Ethiopian Annexation". This memorandum, together with a further communication which you also enclosed addressed to the President on June 5 has been read with considerable interest and your concern in the attitude to be adopted by this Government towards the matter under reference is appreciated.

You may be assured that this Government has been giving its careful attention to the developments in this situation but that at the present time it has not been felt desirable to make any statements in regard thereto.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

R. Walton Moore

Assistant Secretary

WE:VC:ASD
2/8

865D.01/100

Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc.

RECEIVED 200 West 135th Street Room 221
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
New York City

Executives

ROBERT O. JORDAN

President-General

CLAWSON HARRIS

Secretary-General

DARIUS IRBY

Treasurer-General

MAXIMO D. OCAMPO

Chief Medical Advisor

T. KIKUCHI

Chief Business Advisor

RUTH HARVELL

Chairman of Social Department

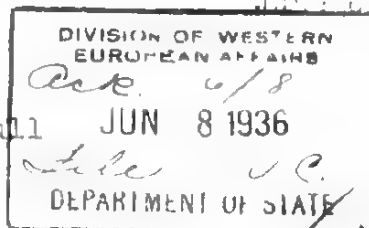
LILLIAN BROWNE

Financial Secretary

1936 JUN 8 AM 9 59

Non-Division of Ordell Hull

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS. C.



June 11 1936

Honorable Sir:

There appeared in the New York Times of June 5 excerpts of a letter sent to our beloved President, His Excellency Franklin Delano Roosevelt, by Judge Salvatore A. Cotillo of the New York Supreme Court urging of him to recognize the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy.

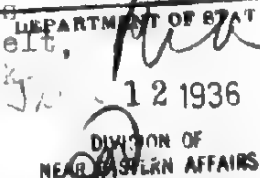
We, the colored citizens of America, and members of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc., the above organization, do hereby resent the attitude of Judge Cotillo because we are in doubt as to whether a judge in his position, drawing a salary from the citizens of New York, have the right to express his opinion in an open letter of such a nature. We believe that he would have the right as a private citizen, but not as a judicial officer. Therefore, we urge you in the name of fairplay and justice to take the necessary steps by ignoring such a letter. We beg of you to use your high office in the behalf of Ethiopia, seeing to it that this great government do not give recognition to the highhanded and brazen invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. We do hope that this nation will subscribe to the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

We do further feel that the time has come when as a nation, we should take a conspicuous place in the world's affairs. We cannot and must not shirk our obligation in dispensing justice to all mankind regardless of their race. Feeling that you are fully cognizant of the functions of your office, we conclude by appealing to you to be a contributor to world's justice which has been retarded by the act of Italy and we are sure you will agree with us that we have just cause to be impatient as American citizens.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

R.O. Jordan



JUN 24 1936

FILED

8650.01/101

GE

June 11 1936

In reply refer to
WE 865D.01/101

Mr. Robert O. Jordan,
President,
Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Incorporated,
200 West 135th Street, Room 221,
New York, New York.

Sir:

The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of June 8, 1936, referring to excerpts of a communication dated June 5, 1936, which were printed in the NEW YORK TIMES edition of the same date, addressed to the President by Judge Cotillo of the New York Supreme Court regarding the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy.

Due note has been made of your comments in this connection and they will receive due consideration.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

James Clement Dunn,
Chief, Division of Western
European Affairs.

WE:VC:ASB
6/8

JUN 10. 1936

865D.01/101

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4587 FOR Telegram #214, 5 pm.

FROM Geneva (Gilbert) DATED June 4, 1936.

TO NAME 1-1137 ...

REGARDING: British aim at the forthcoming meeting of the League Assembly. Will no doubt a resolution against all "annexation" as contrary to Article 10 of the Covenant, to which the Argentine communication specifically refers.

wth

865D.04/102

NE
NE
LA

FS

A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.
(B & A)

Geneva (part air)

Dated June 4, 1936

Rec'd 4:37 a. m. 6th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

214, June 4, 5 p. m. (GRAY).

Consulate's 202, May 30, 6 p. m.

The situation here respecting convoking the Assembly continues to be characterized by a sharp divergence of views on the antecedents and motives of the Argentine request. What may lie behind it in its aspect as an Argentine or perhaps an "American" move is, however, of virtually no interest here in the face of the European aspect of the question.

As was suggested at the outset in view of the character of the long standing relations between Buenos Aires and London, the best informed permanent representatives here now express themselves as "convinced" that London had prior knowledge of this matter and perhaps played a part in its development. These same sources believe that Paris did not have prior knowledge of it.

The French internal situation and divergences in British opinion, and also perhaps between prevailing British public opinion and the policy the Government

might

4587

FS

2-No. 214, June 4, 5 p. m. from Geneva

might wish to pursue, seem to me to be the chief causes of the atmosphere of confusion and apprehension which certainly prevails here. This uncertainty creates a situation in which the representatives of interested states in Geneva and presumably elsewhere are inclined to adduce facts and opinions consonant with their national desires. Assuming the British to be favorable to an Assembly meeting, the pro-sanctionist powers less directly interested perceive British policy as employing the Assembly as a means of maintaining existing sanctions and in general as a demonstration of the continuance of the League front against Italy. (END GRAY)

However, another interesting hypothesis exists respecting British policy. The Government is seen as desirous of freeing itself from the insistence of the British "sanctionist" opinion. While this is difficult to accomplish directly at home it can be greatly influenced through the League inasmuch as pertinent British public opinion in effect bases itself on Geneva. It is believed here that the de facto application of sanctions is approaching an end. The situation left as it stands would spell an obvious defeat of the Eden policy. The British aim respecting the Assembly is concretely envisaged as follows: the adoption of a resolution against all "annexation" as contrary to Article 10 of the

Covenant

865d.01

FS

3-No. 214, June 4, 5 p. m. from Geneva

Covenant to which indeed the Argentine communication specifically refers. Such action is regarded as inescapable, the question of Italian reaction of course remaining in respect of sanctions the expression of a formula leaving the individual states free as to their future course of action. This could mark the final action of the League respecting the entire question. The analogy of such a development to final League action in the Sino-Japanese dispute will be recognized. It is believed here that Great Britain, France and Russia, each for its own reasons wish to disembarass the League of the entire problem and that many small states advocate this course as a "saving of the League" vis a vis the Abyssinian fait accompli as was the case in respect of Manchuria. I have in any event definite knowledge that certain states are advocating this general line of action. As somewhat indicative the Bulgarian Minister tells me that Motta informed him that Swiss Federal Council had arrived at a considered decision that Swiss policy was to promote a "discontinuance" of sanctions only short of publicly taking the initiative. Motta added that this decision was based on political and not on economic grounds.

(GRAY). The

FS 4-No. 214, June 4, 5 p. m. from Geneva

(GRAY). The Italian withdrawal from the Labor Conference is now seen as a retort to an apparent decision that an Assembly meeting will in fact be held and presumably as part of a general pressure for the lifting of sanctions. Italians here express the view that while Italy will not participate, Rome is not wholly unfavorable to an Assembly feeling that it will inevitably demonstrate, compared with the last Assembly, a decrease in the number of states approving or applying sanctions and thus expedite their removal. I note, however, among the Italians and among a number of delegations a definite tenseness which appears to be based on evidences and conclusions similar to those discussed in Rome's telegram 182, May 29, 4 p. m. (END GRAY).

741.62
741.65
A poignant anxiety which exists here is however based on a fear that Great Britain might come to a decision that her Empire interests are paramount over her Continental concerns and may precipitate unforeseeable consequences in Europe by uniting with Germany as the only effective check on Italy.

(GRAY). The inconsistencies in the foregoing views are of course evident.

Although it is not officially announced I am told that June 29th will probably be the date set for the
Assembly

FS 5-No. 214, June 4, 5 p. m. from Geneva

Assembly and also for the Council. This I am informed is a French suggestion.

Secretary General has just announced formally that a meeting of the Assembly will be summoned, the date to be fixed shortly.

HPD

GILBERT

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4601 FOR Telegram #218, 3 pm.

FROM Geneva (Gilbert) DATED June 6, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Argentine convocation of the League Assembly. Argentine pertinent policy is to obtain in Geneva the strongest possible indorsement of the "principle of non-recognition".

wth

865D.01 / 103

163

FS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

Geneva (part air)

Dated June 6, 1936

Rec'd 5:34 a. m. 8th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

218, June 6, 3 p. m.

Consulate's 214, June 4, 5 p. m.

865d.01

As I do not know the possible bearing on inter-American policy of the Argentines in convoking the Assembly I have considered it prudent while holding myself receptive to refrain from pursuing inquiries of the Argentines and in general among Latin American delegations here. The Argentine representative however "declared" to me that Argentine's pertinent policy is to obtain here the strongest possible indorsement of the "principle of nonrecognition". He added that while his instructions respecting the position he should take on sanctions were not final Argentine policy in general should the question arise was to abstain on a vote to maintain or to increase sanctions and to vote for the lifting of sanctions should there be any substantial movement in that direction.

Should the Department desire that I endeavor discreetly to obtain information on any specific points please instruct.

CSB

GILBERT

4601

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4600 FOR Telegram #395, 9 am.

FROM Ethiopia (Engert) DATED June 6, 1936.

TO NAME 1-1187 ...

REGARDING: Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Italian forces cannot yet be said to be in complete control anywhere south of the ninth parallel and west of the fortieth meridian, except along the railway. No Italian troops south of the Blue Nile and the extreme western portions of Ethiopia.

wth

865D.01 / 104

104

FS

A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone.
(A)

Addis Ababa via N. R.

Dated June 5, 1936

Rec'd 8:05 p. m. 6th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

595, June 5, 9 a. m.

(GRAY). Department's 266, June 4.

There is really very little to add to my telegrams in the latter part of May as the situation has remained practically unchanged. But I should like to correct certain erroneous statements in telegrams the Department has been good enough to repeat to me. (END GRAY).

CONFIDENTIAL. One. Department's 242, May 20. It is untrue that Italian airmen are maintaining surveillance "through out the entire country". They may do so in the north and southeast but no attempt at surveillance has so far been made in the south and southwest.

Two. Department's 265, June 4. del Valle is not a very reliable witness. Italian forces cannot yet be said to be "in complete control" anywhere south of the ninth parallel and west of the fortieth meridian except along the railway. There seems to be no Italian troops south of the Blue Nile and the westernmost point in central

Ethiopia

4600

FS 2-No. 395, June 5, 9 a. m. from Addis Ababa

Ethiopia so far occupied is Ambo about 55 miles from Addis Ababa. To say that contact with the inhabitants is maintained "almost entirely by civil officials" is entirely untrue, even in Addis Ababa although it may be applicable to the extreme north.

Three. No attempt has been made by the Italians to penetrate into the vast areas comprising such provinces as Jimma, Ollega, Kaffa, Balema, Lalamo, Sidamo, Arussi. For example, there are eight Europeans on the ninety-fourth coffee plantations in Arussi who sent message to the Belgian Minister here that their homes had been sacked and they were in danger of their (*). Although they are only fourteen hours by road from Arba railway station, the Italians have so far been unable to send any forces for their evacuation.

(END SECTION ONE).

HPD

ENGERT

(*) Apparent omission

FS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (A)

Addis Ababa via N. R.

Dated June 5, 1936

Rec'd 6:30 p. m. 7th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

395, June 5, 9 a. m. (SECTION TWO).

384.11
Four. Similarly my repeated inquiries concerning welfare of Americans in the south and southwest have always received the reply that the Italian authorities have no information whatever regarding the situation in those provinces and were not yet prepared to send any troops there. When I suggested patrolling by planes I was told it was too risky because of impossibility of landing in an emergency.

Five. Ras Beyum the Italians claim to have captured; also Dejazmatch Wandwossen Ras Kassa's eldest son. Ras Imru still has a force somewhere west of Ambo and Ras Desta is believed to be in Sidamo. In Lekempti, the province due west of Addis Ababa, Dejazmatch Gabre Mariama Galla who is the hereditary ruler there has set up a government of his own and is reported to keep good order. Jimma, which like Lekempti is a Galla province, is being held by Kantiba Tanna an ex-mayor of Addis Ababa. He too is said to have the situation fairly well

in

FS 2-No. 395, June 5 from Addis Ababa (SECTION TWO)

in hand. In Wallega a certain Fitora Wingoyoh (?) (?) (?) Galla and son of a former chief there appears to have assumed control but with what success is unknown here.

Six. The Italians themselves admit that the disarming of the natives has been very slow and unsatisfactory. For example, Badoglio told me that in Addis Ababa only 400 rifles had been collected which is a ludicrous figure considering that nearly every Abyssinian habitually carried a rifle of some sort. In the provinces the proportion is doubtless even smaller and convoys between here and Dessie continue to be attacked.

Seven. The above is not intended to convey the impression that properly constituted political entities exist which govern portions of the country in the name of the Emperor or that any large organized forces are in the field even in those areas where no Italian soldiers have so far been seen. I merely wish to point out that certain obvious difficulties are only just beginning for the Italians and that even if they are left in undisturbed possession by the other powers it may be six months or more before the whole country can be properly garrisoned.

(END OF MESSAGE.)

RR:HPD

ENGERT

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 884.111/30 FOR Memorandum
FROM State Department
Division of Near East- (Murray6) DATED May 26, 1936
TO ern Affairs NAME 1-1187 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian East Africa by the United States.

Issuance of a visa to enter Italian East Africa by the Italian Consul at Djibouti, to American Consular Clerk under orders proceed to that country, does not in the opinion of this office involve recognition of this country in the present regime in that country.

865D.01/105

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4620 FOR Telegram #302, 1:45 pm.
(Rec'd)

FROM Great Britain (Atherton) DATED June 9, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1187 ...

REGARDING: Recognition of Abyssinia. British Foreign Office view that the abolition of sanctions was a separate question which did not concern in which Italian League situation Italy must take the initiative in making some gesture toward meeting the position of of the League.

865D.01/106

wth

MED

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased
before being communi-
cated to anyone (b)

LONDON

UNDATED

Received 1:45 p.m.
June 9, 1936

Secretary of State,

Washington

302.

865 d. 01

Confidential in outlining today the trend of their
present deliberations the Foreign Office referred to the
practical merging the Council meeting into the greater
meeting of the Assembly at the end of this month and
gave me to understand that England would favor the
abolition of sanctions under the cover of this meeting
of many nations. The difficulty in the interim lay in
meeting the viewpoints being expressed by the small
powers especially Greece and Turkey. The abolition of
sanctions, the Foreign Office emphasized, was a separate
question which did not concern the recognition of
Abyssinia in which Italian league situation Italy
must take the initiative in making some gesture toward
meeting the position of the League. If sanctions are
(%) and the way clear to the reestablishment of Italy
in the League the Foreign Office thought that the Straits
Conference would then assume its "justly limited im-
portance". Foreign Office seemed unenthusiastic about
League

4620

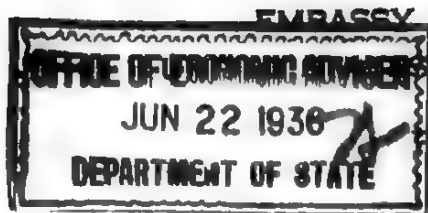
MED -2- #302, June 9, 1:45 p.m. from London

500.0 League reorganization fearing such an attempt would
merely end in the destruction of the existing Covenant.

The French Ambassador returned from Paris last
night and I understand does not feel the new
Government has had any time to study its theories in the
light of the existing situation. Observers following
events are fearful lest with the French and British
both far from anxious to take any lead at Geneva a
situation of drift may ensue.

ATTENTION

CSB



ROME, May 29, 1936.

No. 1710.

Subject: Announced Italian Measures and Plans for the Administration and Development of Ethiopia.

DIVISION OF WESTERN
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

JUN 11 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

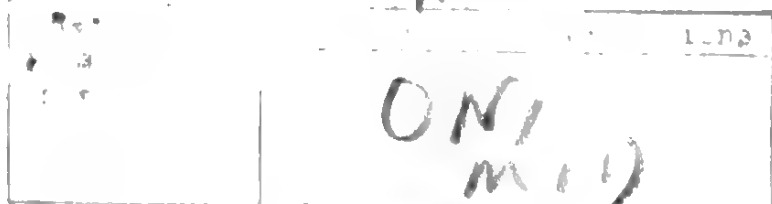
JUN 25 1936

DIVISION OF
TRADE AGREEMENTS
TA

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

1936 JUN 11 AM 11 39

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Assistant Secretary
of State

JUL 8 - 1936

MR. DAKE

With reference to my telegram No. 178 of May 26th and in continuation of my despatch No. 1695 of May 21st regarding Italian administration and development of Ethiopia, I have the honor to give below a digest of further information appearing in the Italian press between May 21st and May 27th on this subject.

It may be said that all indications confirm the idea that the development of the new Empire will not only be supervised closely by the Government through its ministerial and corporative organizations, but that the term "peace battle" will probably aptly describe the second phase of Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Not only will the State

control

865D.01/107

GRC

control initiatives in the new territory, but it will apparently draft and regiment labor and capital for the development and colonization of Ethiopia just as it has drafted soldiers to conquer it. The power of the corporative and unitarian organization will again be a determining factor in bringing Italy through what otherwise might seem an impossible task for this country, and "conscientious" or other objectors will not be allowed to stand in the way of the "war of labor" any more than they interfered with the "war of conquest."

Military Operations and Pacification.

✓ According to a STEFANI communiqué from Addis Abeba on May 22nd, p.m., territorial occupation was going forward methodically. The following details were given as to the northern troops:

3rd Army Corps - spreading out fan-wise from Dessie.

4th Army Corps - moving toward Gondar.

2nd Army Corps - holding positions in the Shoa province, intensifying road work and political organization.

28th October Blackshirt Division - garrisoning the Tembien.

Absolute calm was declared to prevail in Gondar, Tana, and Sudan frontier regions. The communiqué added:

"The general situation is as follows:

"The war being over, military operations are giving way to political activity flanked by the troops, the element of force being decisive in view of native psychology. Zone by zone territorial occupation is going forward, accompanied everywhere by the submission of the inhabitants who, guided by their local religious and political leaders, fall into the new order of things without question. Military operations true and proper are to be regarded as definitely over. Military activity is confined to supporting the political work and stamping out banditry in order to reestablish order,

revive trade, and garrison important centers and roads.

"Almost all the more important chieftains have fled or submitted, or are at large in distant territories trying to find some way of obtaining a place in the new order of things.

"The reports sent out from Djibouti regarding the military activity of Ras Imru are to be taken with great reserve. Imru is in hiding, considering himself too greatly compromised to submit to the Italians but still eager to find some way out of his untenable position.

"The troops in the Gondar region are now in firm control of the important Debra Marcos territory.

"Air activity is intense throughout the Empire. Its war duties over, it is now guaranteeing communications, supplies, and mail service with the more distant points not yet provided with efficient roads.

"Agricultural work is in full swing at all points."

Much stress is laid on the surveillance maintained by the air force and on the fact that they have found the entire country pacified. Particular attention has been given to the territory toward the Sudan frontier. On May 26th an entire Caproni squadron flew over the whole region south of Wollega, following the Addis Ababa-Gambela caravan route. When the squadron reached the town of Gore (where from British sources the existence of an Ethiopian government had been reported), the planes flew very close to the ground and circled for some time about the center. The population, it is said, waved to them in festive fashion. Throughout the region no sign of military activity was discovered: the populations appeared entirely tranquil and engaged in agricultural work. The planes drop quantities of messages for the populations to read and then return to each spot a few hours later to note the effect.

Caravan routes are reported by airmen to be greatly frequented by merchants bringing their wares to the occupied territory.

Dr. Junod of the International Red Cross has stated to Italian correspondents that during his flight in Jimma and other regions in an attempt to locate missing Red Cross units, the entire territory appeared peaceful; even when flying at a low altitude, the plane was never shot at, while the populations waved friendly greetings. Major Fiske has also been quoted as having said to the STEFANI correspondent that he had travelled in almost all the occupied territories and found orderly conditions everywhere (See my despatch No. 1711 of May 29, 1936).

On May 22nd or 23rd, General Cona, Assistant Chief of Staff, at Addis Ababa denied to press correspondents that there had been any movement of British colonial troops, as rumored abroad, across the Jimma border. He further said that at no point occupied by Italian troops were there any hostilities and the authorities had not even received any reports of skirmishes. He added that banditry had always been the greatest problem of Ethiopia. Asked how long the occupation of the country would take, he estimated that a few months would suffice to garrison the territory securely, although naturally longer than that would be required to render the entire country absolutely safe. As to Imru, General Cona said his position was naturally very difficult, he having compromised his position vis-à-vis the Italians; at present, deserted by his army, he was wandering at large with a few faithful followers.

Among localities occupied recently, the press has men-

locality of Ambar, Alence and Flambiro, Aubarre and Gogoti

(frontier

(frontier towns).

✓ The chief concern of the military at present is to occupy frontier posts (See under "Frontiers and Customs"), without which Italian hold over Ethiopia would continue to be precarious, especially without the cooperation of adjacent countries, and to ensure the safety of communications. The conjunction of southern and northern troops is being effected, and troop movements are in progress to ensure control over communications with French Somalia and the Tigrai, as well as to occupy Lake Stefanie and other western frontier posts. Permanent and mobile garrisons have been organized all along the Addis Ababa-Dessie road and the Djibouti railroad.

Among reports of submissions, appears the note on May 22nd that the son of the noted chieftain Omar Samantar (a thorn in the Italian flesh in the Ogaden for years past) has been captured but denies any knowledge of his father's whereabouts. Ras Seyum, as already reported, has submitted to the Italians; there has been no further information as to what treatment he is being accorded, although the general impression is that since, according to current rumors, he had long ago been in favor of submission, he is in no great danger and may eventually even enjoy some special privileges under the new regime despite his being referred to as "ex-Ras Seyum".

Among former government members and local officials recently reported as having submitted to the Italians, are the following:

Tasfae Tagagne, former Director General of the Foreign Office, returned from Djibouti.

Afework Jesus, former Minister to Rome (and consistently in favor, according to all reports, of an agreement with Italy).

Mangasha Ubie, former Minister to Rome.

Yamein Bedho, Khadi of Addis Ababa.

Ata François, Director of Customs.

Dejak Tsedalu, Minister of Education.

Tayaleu Kebbede, President of Special Tribunal and
once Municipal Director of Addis Ababa.

Yama Ibn Ahmed El Harrari, now Khadi of Addis Ababa.

Ato Wodayo Ali, Ethiopian Agent in Asmara.

The Emire of Harrar.

Wolde Emanuel, Former Governor of Jimma.

In no case is there any reference to instances of bombing by the air force on its scouting expeditions or the use of arms by the troops.

In order to experiment the possibility of landing troops from the air, the transportation of an infantry batallion from Makalle to Addis Ababa began on May 22nd, ten planes being used for the purpose, each landing one squadron a day, and a total of ten days being required.

✓ It has been announced officially that military forces in Ethiopia will be kept at full strength. Only special classes of volunteers who simultaneously hold political or syndical positions in Italy are being furloughed. Any other returns to Italy will be confined to the granting of temporary leave for family or matrimonial purposes in exceptional cases. The troops will give their attention to road building, farming, and other peacetime activities along with their military duties, but, as pointed out editorially here, the first Italian colonizers will be in a position to lay down their spades and take up their guns at any moment.

As to the possibility of an Abyssinian uprising against the

Italians

Italians during the rainy season, predicted by the DAILY TELEGRAPH recently, Virginio Gayda said editorially on May 25th that this was absolutely impossible, not only because of the difficulties of any movements during the rains and the firm hold of the Italian Army, but also because of the attitude of the populations. He adduced in this connection Dr. Junod's statements reported above:

"The forecasts issued in London therefore appear more than suspect. They prove that the plan of Abyssinian revolt is entirely in the mind and intentions of certain British agitators. It originates not in Ethiopian territory but in British sanctionist territory. And this advance note of the DAILY TELEGRAPH, in such violent contrast with the ascertained facts of the case, can only confirm the suspicion."

Gayda then noted the coincidence between the above reports in Eden's newspaper and the announced arrival of Mr. Tafari (as the Negus is always called now by the Italian press) in England.

The press of May 27th reported the TIMES despatch from Gambela via Khartoum to the effect that a Galla chieftain of the Sayo region (50 kilometers northeast of Gambela) was marching on Sayo with 3000 men, having dispossessed the Ethiopian Governor, Johannes, and that the Galla population had never been favorable to the Ethiopian chieftains. It is also reported that Sayo, according to unconfirmed information, is anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Italians; at that locality there is said to be an American mission, composed of one American, a German nurse, and 25 Greeks.

Administration.

The Governor General, Viceroy of Ethiopia, has, as reported last week, returned to Italy "on leave". It is, however, generally assumed that he will not return, but no announcement to

that

215 N. 001

that effect has yet been made nor is the position of Marshall Graziani, who is meanwhile in charge of affairs in East Africa, made clear, although he is frequently now referred to by correspondents as "Governor General Graziani." There are indications, however, that he may continue in charge indefinitely, as the second appointment below listed bears out:

Governor of Eritrea, Tigray, Danakil, and Aussa:

General Guzzoni (last fall appointed Vice Governor of Eritrea) has, according to a communiqué published here on May 26th, been placed in charge of the territory comprising the above regions, and all military forces in that territory have been placed under his orders. Guzzoni was reported on May 25th to have flown to Addis Ababa to confer with Graziani.

Governor of Somaliland.

General Santini. Until May 24th this title was held by Marshall Graziani. The new appointment would therefore indicate that Graziani is not returning to Mogadiscio. Santini left Addis Ababa a few days ago by plane for Mogadiscio.

Vice Governor of Somaliland: De Rubeis.

It is not stated whether the grouping of Eritrea and the four new provinces is a permanent arrangement or not.

The Civil Governor of Addis Ababa (Bottai, who is also Governor of Rome) and Vice Governor Alessandrini departed along with Marshall Badoglio for Italy, where they will arrive early next week. No announcement has been made of any appointees to succeed or represent them in Addis Ababa, although the "Office of the Civil Governor" continues to be referred to in news despatches from the Ethiopian capital.

Administration of Justice.

Civil Law: A draft project for the administration of justice, the STEFANI agency announced on May 22nd from Addis

1652.044

Ababa, has been completed by the Government of the Viceroy and is now in Rome for approval by the Central Government. The system, which is patterned to a great extent after that used in Eritrea, contemplates courts for Coptics, courts for Mohammedans, ordinary courts for whites, and mixed courts for disputes between whites and natives.

Executions under martial law: According to an official communiqué published on May 25th from Addis Ababa, 53 individuals have been executed between the occupation of Addis Ababa and May 21st. 39 of these were caught in the act of arson or looting, while the other fourteen were guilty of "other serious crimes."

165.84/16
The charges of certain foreign newspapers of cruel treatment of the Ethiopians by Italian troops and of execution without motive are vigorously denied here, the authoritative Virginio Gayda asserting editorially on May 25th that such rumors represent the latest form of anti-Italian campaign now that the subject of poison gas has virtually served its time. He, like other writers, points out that the wholesale looting and murder which went on in Addis Ababa after the departure of Haile Selassie and, it is added, under his parting instructions, had made foreigners residing there send desperate messages to the Italian troops requesting assistance, and for that reason the march on the capital had been speeded up three whole days. Too bad, Gayda remarked, that the Italians had gone to all that trouble in saving the Europeans from falling into the hands of those same Ethiopian "patriots" whose fate so deeply moves the POPULAIRE.

Prisoners of War.

765.84114
In addition to the 500 prisoners released by Graziani in the Harrar region, it was announced on May 22nd that all the prisoners in the Nokra concentration camp had been released and sent back to their homes. This measure was depicted in the press as a demonstration that the Ethiopian populations were unanimous in their acceptance of Italian government.

Policing.

865d.105
Among other reports on the subject of police services in the new Empire is the notice from Diredawa that a city police force composed of native elements under Italian officers has been substituted for the former French gendarmery.

✓ Diplomatic Missions.

701.0084
There have been no further intimations on the part of Italian newspapers (page 7 of the despatch under reference) that it was high time for the withdrawal of diplomatic representatives from Addis Ababa. Eden's statement in the Commons a few days ago to the effect that the withdrawal of the British Legation was not being considered but that Barton would probably take the home leave long overdue him was reported briefly, certain correspondents adding that it was rumored the British Minister would not return.

✓ It further appears that while the Italian Government had suggested to the British Minister in Addis Ababa and British Ambassador in Rome that the withdrawal of the Legation guards would be in order, no issue has been made of the question, in the efforts being put forth to lead if possible to an improvement in diplomatic relations.

Nevertheless Italian correspondents have been unable to

✓conceal their indignation at Mr. Eden's assertion that the
✓Legation guard would not be withdrawn for the present, since
the "situation in Addis Ababa was far from settled." This
remark was regarded as a deliberate affront, although edi-
torially it has been ignored. The GAZZETTA DEL POPOLO, for
example, found that this statement by Eden as well as the
arrival of "Mr. Tafari" in London bore out the theory that
the British Foreign Minister was determined to prevent any
improvement of relations with Italy. Eden, the correspondent
charged, even when attempting to evince moderation and states-
manship allowed his real feelings to be seen on all occasions:

"What does Mr. Eden mean by his statement that
the situation is still far from settled? That
the Viceroy is unable to maintain order? Or that
Italian occupation is temporary and shakey? Or
that Italy will allow Abyssinia to be snatched
from her? Mr. Eden certainly believes in none of
these hypotheses, but the irritating phrase is the
expression of his invincible aversion for Italy,
and is not reassuring for the improvement of
Anglo-Italian relations."

The same newspaper on May 24th, quoting the MORNING
POST'S statement that the British Government was not in favor
of making any change for the moment in that further disorders
may occur, had said that Italy had not demanded the withdrawal
of these troops yet, although obviously "there is no longer
any reason for them to remain and they may also be ridiculed
by the natives, which might give rise to unpleasant incidents."

As to the recent incident in which a British diplomatic
pouch was supposed to have disappeared between Addis Ababa
and Djibouti, this is considered now to have been cleared up
by Lord Cranborne's statement to the Commons that the
"diplomatic pouch" was only an ordinary package containing

no diplomatic secret, and that it had been traced and forwarded to its destination. "Another of the TIMES' bombs," it was remarked here on May 26th, "has fizzled out." Virginio Gayda stated editorially on May 25th that "this was not a confidential diplomatic pouch but merely a package in no way diplomatic or confidential, which may have been lost or even stolen just as often happens in the streets or subways of London."

Accounts of the dinner and reception given by the French Legation in honor of Italian officials on May 21st was fully reported here, with emphasis on the cordiality prevailing.

Foreigners in Ethiopia.

Expulsions.

384.0024

The British subject Bunner, according to British reports reproduced here, had been arrested at Dire-dawa on May 17th by the Italian authorities because they had been informed by an Ethiopian that he was Captain Bunner, an Austrian subject, sought by them, his identity having also been attested to by an Ethiopian boy who had been in the service of Wehib Pasha. Bunner did not speak Italian (and, Italian editorial writers have added, the Italian authorities were under no obligation to speak English) and rather than attempting to clear up his position escaped from confinement, a circumstance which confirmed Italian suspicions. Subsequently he was reported safe and sound at Djibouti. This case has been commented on editorially in the GIORNALE D'ITALIA as a grossly and purposely misrepresented case for the definite purpose of anti-Italian propaganda, along with other incidents, some having a basis in truth and others entirely invented.

As to Monsignor Jarousseau, it appears that the order or expulsion against him was remanded by Mussolini himself in order to prevent the French priest from becoming a martyr, although it is asserted that the Italians have definite proof of his anti-Italian activity. Jarousseau, according to the GIORNALE D'ITALIA, will continue to remain in Harrar to the end of his days carrying on his mission, "which in the past was not always friendly toward Italy." The press here comments ironically on the fact that it was the OEUVRE and its "red and green colleagues" which were particularly moved by the fate of this Catholic priest.

No definite statements have been issued from this end regarding the cases of expulsion, and to date nothing whatsoever has been said as to the report in London on May 26th that Eden had instructed the British Minister in Addis Ababa to protest to the Italian authorities over the alleged arrest at Dire-dawa of Colonel Lewellyn of the British hospital mission and Major Bentuck and Major Vaughan Jones of the S.P.C.A. and Blue Cross organizations. (Colonel Lewellyn has in the past been mentioned frequently in news reports from Djibuti as a British agent.) Lord Cranbourne's statement that the British Ambassador had been instructed to request an explanation for the expulsion of Steers, the TIMES correspondent, is noted without comment.

The MESSAGGERO reported from Addis Ababa on May 22nd that a number of "adventurers" had left for Djibuti under Italian orders. It added that those Europeans engaging in honest business had been permitted to resume their activities and were making money hand over fist.

✓ There is no explanation offered (although the Italian layman feels it requires none) of the refusal, reported by the TIMES from Djibuto and mentioned in the Italian press of May 22nd, of a visa to the British Vice Consul at Djibuti permitting him to enter Ethiopia to see to the interests of an insurance company of which he was agent, on the grounds that the presence of British citizens in Abyssinia "was not required".

Future Policy toward Foreigners and Foreign Trade.

In an interview with the DAILY TELEGRAPH correspondent, published here yesterday (May 28th) and forwarded with my despatch No. 1706 of even date, Mussolini made the following

ing

ing statement as to opportunities which would be granted to foreigners in Ethiopia:

Question: Will other nations be permitted to trade within the limits of the new Empire and on what conditions?

Reply: We are still studying the problem of the commercial relations of our Empire with foreign States, but we shall find for this a moderate and tolerant solution.

In this connection, the American Consul General at Naples reported under date of May 20th and again confirmed on May 27th a rumor in Naples to the effect that Mussolini was disposed to admit a certain number of Austrian and Hungarian emigrants to Ethiopia, probably 100,000 of each nationality. The STAMPA, incidentally, reported from Vienna on May 22nd that 3,000 Hungarian war veterans, who had offered their services as volunteers at the beginning of the campaign, had now requested the Italian Legation in Budapest to forward to Rome their application as volunteer colonists.

Frontiers and Customs.

As mentioned in the section devoted to military operations, the Italians are making every possible effort to occupy frontier regions, this obviously being absolutely indispensable to any effective control and administration of the new Empire.

On May 26th a Stefani communique from Addis Ababa reported that a Somali-Arab column, accompanied by Finance Guard units, was marching toward Lake Stefanie on the Kenya border, where customs and frontier posts would be organized.

Finance guards have resumed customs service at Addis

Ababa

ib5d.52

Ababa and French frontier stations. The TRIBUNA correspondent on May 27th asserts that relations between Italian customs agents and French gendarmes are cordial, that traffic is steadily increasing without any cases of contraband, and that the average cleared through the customs during the first few days was around 100,000 lire in value per day.

✓ In this connection, the press reports from Paris and London but does not comment on the fact that the Italians are bringing in their own shipments over the railway but are refusing French goods on the ground that nothing can be imported from a sanctionist country. One writer, in discussing the future policy toward foreign trade in the Empire, admits that for the moment the existence of sanctions has simplified the situation. On May 24th it was reported that dubat units had a few days before occupied the frontier towns of Mubarre and Gogoti and that there were troop movements in progress to ensure control over communications with French Somaliland.

Communications.

Air Routes.

Four hundred workers, according to despatches from Diredawa on May 23rd, are now busy on the airfield there, which is expected to be in an efficient condition within a few days. The Debra Marcos airfield is also being enlarged and improved to accommodate even heavy planes. The Addis Ababa field will be given particular attention, with a draining system to ensure service even during the

height

154.7962

height of the rainy season. At the present time there is intensive air movement between Addis Ababa and Asmara, twenty to thirty military planes arriving each day.

865.7965d

The commercial Ala Littoria company now has projects under study for additional lines connecting the leading centers of Ethiopia. In the middle of June a Rome - Addis Ababa airline will begin operations. The contemplated route, however, is Rome-Khartum-Kassala-Asmara-Assab-Djibuti-Diredawa-Addis Ababa. A supplementary plane will do regular service between Djibuti and Mogadiscio. It is noted that the route through Khartum would cut down flying time by three days. Addis Ababa will be connected with Rome, it is asserted, even throughout the rainy season.

Railroads.

865 d. 77

It is consistently reported that the Djibuti railway is now operating regularly and doing heavy business. Incidentally, an article by Corrado Zoli in the TRIBUNA of May 21st recommends that the Harrar region be given a port in Italian territory and mentions Assab as a possibility. This same writer states that a project is now under consideration for the extension of the Massawa-Asmara railway to Tesseni and thence to Om Ager and suggests that this should be altered, bringing the railway from Tessenei to Kassala to connect with the Sudan railway, with only a good automobile road between Tessenei and Om Ager. He also recommends an Asmara-Adigrat-Adowa branch.

Mail Service.

865d.71
The Ministry of Communications on May 22nd notified that postal rates prevailing in Italy were extended to letters and parcels post to and from Ethiopia. Mail service is now assured by military airplanes, there being a daily service between Addis Ababa and Asmara (the distance being covered in three hours).

It has been reported that probably three main post-offices will be set up: one at Asmara for Eritrea and the Tigray, one at Mogadiscio for Somaliland and territories along the railway, and one in Addis Ababa for all other provinces.

Telegraph.

865d.72
Ordinary and deferred telegrams may now be sent from Rome to Addis Ababa for 2.20 and 1.10 lire per word respectively, en clair, in Italian, French, English, German, and Spanish. Such telegrams are sent by wireless to Asmara and thence by air mail to Addis Ababa. Special telegrams (urgent, prepaid reply, etc.) are not as yet taken.

Radio.

865d.74
The Italian radio station at Addis Ababa, in the hands of Navy personnel, is expected to begin functioning this week.

Telephone.

865d.75
Military telephone lines and certain of former civil lines were to have been fully repaired by May 26th.

Roads.

865d.154
Among the road work to be started immediately (see

page 12 of despatch under reference) is the improvement of all existing roads, which are to be put in condition for traffic during the rains. The road building program, it is announced, will give employment to 1,000 engineers, etc., 30,000 Italian laborers, and 70,000 natives. Road superintendents' houses, Road Militia guard posts, carabinieri posts, and supply depots will be built along all the new roads.

The Jimma road will be carried to the Sudan frontier, while the Addis Ababa - Allata road will go to the Kenya border across the Lake region.

Public bus services are now operating between Diredawa and Harrar. Road tolls have been abolished.

The Royal Automobile Club has offered to build quarters for road superintendents along paved roads in Somalia and the Ogaden, auto repair shops, and hostels.

By the end of August, the road between Buloburti (terminal of the railway from Mogadiscio) and Belet Wen is expected to be opened, several hundred men now working at top speed on the Buloburti-Gorrahei tract, and within the current year the road up the Faf valley to Mustahil, and a project is being completed for a Gorrahei-Harrar and a Mustahil-Dolo artery.

Sanitary Measures.

Marshall Graziani has set up a committee for public welfare and hygiene to assist both needy European and native population in Addis Ababa. The Committee is composed of the Civil Governor, an official of the Fascist Federation, a Carabineer officer, the Director of the

Italian

2654

Italian Hospital.

8650.143

Marshall Graziani has issued an emergency decree organizing the civil health service in Addis Ababa and surrounding territory. The decree sets up a Civil Health Board with supervisory powers over various hospitals, a sanitary officer, veterinary office, obstetrics office, and a bacteriological and chemical laboratory. Among the hospitals operating under the orders of the Board of Health are the Italian hospital, the Fuluuaha hospital, the American Adventist hospital, two wards for contagious diseases of the former Menelik (and now military) hospital, one of these being for Europeans and one for natives. The decree also provides for free clinical and first-aid service and special wards for gratuitous treatment of needy Europeans and natives. The Gualale hospital (run by the American Presbyterian mission) and the American leprosy hospital (American Sudan mission) are to carry on their work with their own personnel and funds, under the supervision of the Italian health authorities. News despatches from Addis Ababa all state that this last provision is also intended as tribute to the fine work being done by North American organizations.

Mussolini has just received General Andruzzi, the newly appointed Inspector General of Health in the Colonial Office, to whom he has given instructions for the work to be carried on.

All foreign Red Cross units have now left Ethiopia, with the exception of one Swedish unit which, despite the search plane placed at the disposal of Dr. Junod of the

International Red Cross Committee, has not as yet been located.

Senator Castellani, Inspector General of civil and military sanitary services in East Africa, who has been in Somaliland for the past five months, stated to the Stefani agency at Addis Ababa a few days ago that health conditions in the southern sector, which had caused far more preoccupation than in the north in view of the climatic difficulties, had been very satisfactory both among Italians and natives. He gave the following details:

Malaria - Few cases had occurred, and virtually no fatal ones. A special malariology corps had been sent and equipped to combat that disease, and intensive prophylactic measures had been used.

Dysentery - No epidemic. In one of the southernmost districts there was an instance presenting epidemic characteristics, but this situation was taken in hand before it could spread. There were no fatalities.

Typhus - No epidemic and only a few sporadic cases.

Recurrent Fever - A number of cases among the native populations, several among the ascari, two among the white troops.

Cholera - No case of cholera, despite foreign reports of widespread epidemics.

Plague - No case.

Beriberi - A few cases among native population, none among white or native troops.

Scurvy - None.

Framboesia - One case.

Sunstroke - At first there had been many cases, but the situation now caused no concern.

The health of the native populations, Dr. Castellani continued, was given special attention by government and mili-

tary

tary authorities, and was already satisfactory in Eritrea, the Tigrai, Shoa, Lake Tana, and all occupied territories.

The press gives special attention to the creation of hospitals, prophylactic measures, etc., and insists upon the interest of the Government in this extremely vital matter, asserting that the frightful death tolls which colonial enterprises have always claimed are not to occur in the development of Ethiopia.

The Consul General in Naples reports the return of the hospital ship HELOUAN to Naples on May 25th with 200 patients, mostly dysentery and a few malaria cases, as well as a few wounded.

Acqueducts.

65d. 151
The existing water supply systems in Addis Ababa and other towns are being repaired as fast as possible. In the capital, as elsewhere, however, a new system will have to be installed. The authorities are now studying projects for acqueducts at Jijiga, Harrar, and Diredawa, and the work will soon begin on them.

Banking.

65d. 516
Under date of May 22nd it was reported from Addis Ababa that a mission of economic and financial experts was shortly expected in Ethiopia to study questions connected with the liquidation of the Bank of Ethiopia and the monetary situation. It is pointed out that the Bank will pay off its debts and paper current one-hundred percent, its silver coverage being intact.

The Bank of Italy is now said to be functioning normal-

ly, and the lira is used for commercial purposes, even among the natives, who, newspaper correspondents maintain, now prefer it to the thaler. Italian paper money is said to be in great demand, and it has been reported that the Mohammed Ali concern took in 400,000 lire in two days. The question of monetary control has been discussed by various Italian writers, who point to the instability of the thaler, which is in the nature of a "commodity currency" and thus fluctuates chaotically. The thaler must be anchored to the lira and will apparently have a daily official quotation, communicated by telephone, telegraph, and other future means of communications to all parts of the Empire so that the thaler will remain uniform and stable. It is also noted that the economy of Ethiopia must be firmly attached to the lira so that it will benefit the Italian balance of trade and of payments. Importation and exportation of thalers must also be controlled, for if the thaler were allowed to circulate to and beyond the Red Sea as is now the case, it would make a breach in Italian monetary defenses.

In this connection, the following report was published from Vienna on May 26th in all Italian papers:

"The abolishment of the Maria Theresa thaler in Abyssinia, replaced by the lira, will not represent any loss for Austria, since coinage of the thaler by the Vienna mint stopped three years ago. In 1933 the mint coined, for the last time, a million and a half thalers, which was already less than the coinage of 1931 (1.75 million). The mint was interested merely in the actual job of coining, the silver being furnished by the Abyssinian Government."

Financing.

865d.515
884.515

Financing.

The only further details available regarding schemes for financing the development of Ethiopia (see page 12 of my despatch under reference) have been:

865.51
The announcement on May 22nd that the General Insurance Institute had allotted 10 million lire for this purpose.

The rumor that private individuals would be called upon to make contributions. The American Consul in Trieste reported on May 9th that shipyard workers in that city had been advised that they would probably be asked to give one day's wages to a fund for the agricultural development of Abyssinia.

Commercial Activities.

865 d. 50
Marshall Graziani was reported on May 27th to have issued a decree regulating all commercial activities. An Economic Committee has been set up in the Office of the Civil Governor of Addis Ababa to serve as an advisory body on all applications for the issue of trade licences of any kind and on price-fixing. The Committee, which meets whenever requested by the Civil Governor, is composed of a representative of the Fascist Federation, a Government official, a carabinieri officer, an officer of the Quartermaster's Office. Price-control measures in Harrar, Diredawa, and other localities are also reported.

The Merchants Confederation, after a series of meetings in Rome, drew up and received Government and corporative approval on a plan for the regulation of individual and collective commercial enterprises and the establishment of a general Ethiopian commercial policy adapted to the present and future requirements and possibilities of the newly acquired territory. It then appointed a mission, which left early yesterday morning by air for East Africa

75

to study conditions on the spot, composed of the Presidents of the Grain, Vegetable, and Feedstuffs Federation, the Foodstuffs Federation, the Clothing Corporation, of Professor Lucio Buggelli, and Giuseppe Maltese (Militia officer). The delegation will remain in East Africa for some two months, visiting Asmara, Addis Ababa, possibly other Ethiopian centers, and Djibuti ("to investigate the efficiency and possibilities of the warehouses and port of that city"). Before departing from Rome, the head of the delegation called on the Undersecretaries for Colonies and Corporations, who gave him instructions. It is expected that one of the first results of this trip of investigation will be the establishment of emporiums dealing in merchandise and foodstuffs of all sorts in the principal centers.

Industry.

8654.60

Meetings have been held to discuss industrial plans for Ethiopia under the auspices of the Industrialists Confederation in Rome, headed by Count Volpi (page 14 of the despatch under reference), attended by officials of industrial and farm labor syndicates, professional men and artists, and industrialists interested in metallurgy and machinery, wool, cotton, and silk production, leather, mining, electrical plants, oil seeds, and foodstuffs.

Building.

8654.502

The "INCIS" (a contracting firm which has in Italy built apartment houses for government employees) has begun the construction of 50 houses in Addis Ababa for officers and officials and their families. This concern will have its

7/15

its own office in Addis Ababa for construction work there and in other centers of Ethiopia of living quarters for military and civil employees. Meanwhile unsafe buildings in Addis Ababa are being demolished under the Government's orders, and former Government buildings being put into shape for Italian civil and military offices.

Colonization.

7-152

The Committee of Farm and Syndical Experts (Page 15 of the despatch under reference) has been holding meetings during the past few days. This Committee, which is to draw up a program for the Colonial Agriculture Office formed within the Farm Labor Confederation, has decided:

- (1) to create a vocational school to train peasant pioneers;
- (2) to give a large number of special rural vocational courses, to issue a daily radio bulletin, and to circulate pamphlets and a bulletin of information on colonial farming;
- (3) to recommend that the Commissariat for Internal Migration and all other public organizations concerned should give preference to rural elements whenever requests are received for unskilled labor for the colonies, since in this way farmers would have an opportunity to study possibilities while engaged in public works projects;
- (4) to establish a correspondence center in Ethiopia to forward data to the Office and assist the Government in connection with the sending out of laborers.

Demographic Policy in Ethiopia.

7-154

An active press campaign, beginning with the MESSAGGERO and subsequently extending to virtually all newspapers, has drawn attention to the danger of marriage or cohabitation between

between Italian troops and laborers and Ethiopian women and is attempting to enlighten public opinion as to the physical, moral, and imperial disaster which the development of a large mulatto race would bring about. The campaign was also taken up the other day by Virginio Gayda, who intimated that the Government would actively combat any tendency of this kind, and said that Italian women would share the pioneering of Italian men and lay the enduring foundations in Ethiopia of a sound Italian empire based upon the sanctity of the family and the integrity of the race.

Ethiopian Youth Movement.

865d1,20
The newly organized Fascist movement among the Ethiopian youth is regarded by the press as the most efficacious means of improving the native population physically, morally, and mentally, and of educating the new subjects in loyalty to the Italian Government. It is denied that the intention is to build up the nucleus of a future black army at Italy's disposition in Africa or elsewhere, despite the militaristic features of this movement. (See in this connection my despatch No. 1708 of May 23rd on Italo-British relations and Mediterranean affairs, page 4.)

Meanwhile it is reported that the newly enrolled members of this Fascist organization participated in the local celebrations at Addis Ababa of May 24th, the anniversary of Italy's entrance into the World War.

Respectfully yours,

A. Kirk

Alexander Kirk
Charge d'affaires ad interim.

801.
eh/ajl

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4625 FOR Telegram #223, Noon.

FROM Geneva (Gilbert) DATED June 10, 1936.

TO

NAME

1-1137

020

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. Argentina is seeking, at the forthcoming League Assembly meeting, to get the widest possible support for the non-recognition principle embodied in the Saavedra Lamas Pact.

wth

865D.01/108

FS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C, B & A).

Geneva

Dated June 10, 1936

Rec'd 7:08 a. m. 11th

Secretary of State,

Washington.

223, June 10, noon.

Consulate's 218, June 6, 3 p. m.

The Argentine representative called on me unexpectedly today and said that he wished to give me confidentially an expose of his Government's policy in requesting a convocation of the Assembly. The essence of what he had to say is as follows.

referred

One. Argentina is seeking the widest possible support for the nonrecognition principle embodied in the Saavedra Lamas Pact. For this Council action, even if obtainable, would not have fully (*) the purpose. The broader representation in the Assembly was manifestly preferable. In a sense Argentina feels its policy already achieved through a meeting of the Assembly being assured inasmuch as it makes little difference to her whether an indorsement of the principle is obtained through the medium of a resolution or through speeches. They feel a certainty that any form of expression must perforce be favorable.

The

4625

FS 2-No. 223, June 10, from Geneva

The publicity following the leak respecting the diplomatic soundings they had made which I discussed in my 202, May 30, 6 p. m., forced a crystallization of the issue favorable to Argentina. For example, Chile was at about that time considering a convocation of the Assembly by joint action of a number of Latin-American states the agenda to include, in association with the Italo-Ethiopian question, that of revision of the Covenant. Argentina, however, desired to capture and to hold the sole initiative respecting the acceptance of the nonrecognition policy antecedent to the Buenos Aires Conference. A certain degree of friction with Chile has developed over this. The Chilean delegation has made public here the Santiago memorandum of May 18.

He told me that although certain of their diplomatic representatives had been instructed to make soundings they were told to do so under the guise of casually voicing their personal speculations and that no states either American or European had been associated in the project. He circumstantially described the surprise of the Quai d'Orsay and Eden's discomfiture and extreme irritation when it was disclosed to him.

He fully recognizes the political effects of the prevalent belief that London and Buenos Aires were partners in

in

FS 3-No. 223, June 10, from Geneva

in the project adding that this belief cannot now be disabused because London has become favorable to an Assembly meeting. The reason for London's favorable attitude he described as based on internal and external political considerations almost precisely as I described them in my No. 214, June 4, 5 p. m., fifth paragraph, stating that advices to this effect had been sent him by the Argentine Embassy at London and also received from Cantilo who was recently in Geneva and who apparently is directing in Europe the execution of Argentine policy in these respects.

In regard to sanctions Buenos Aires has now determined its policy. Although regretting the necessity of associating the principle of nonrecognition with that of sanctions and also frankly hopeful that sanctions may be dropped, they are nevertheless "caught" by what they state to be the concurrence of these principles (Articles 2 and 1) in the Saavedra Lamas Pact. Thus Argentina must perforce vote for the maintenance of sanctions should the question come to a vote. Their tactics are however to prevent it coming to a vote.

He referred to Article 3 of the treaty as the "sanctions Article". This position he has taken in his discussions with Latin-American representatives here and
has

FS 4-No. 223, June 10 from Geneva

has furnished them with copies of a publication issued by the Argentine Embassy at Washington dated September, 1932, containing a commentary on the draft of treaty in which reference to Article three will be noted. Without venturing to appraise this interpretation I can definitely state that Argentina is advancing it here.

He has been working for support of the Argentine initiative among Latin-American representatives and informs me that their present attitudes are as follows. Bolivia will collaborate fully with Argentina including the policy respecting sanctions. Mexico, Peru and Uruguay will generally follow Argentina's initiative. Chile had agreed to support the convoking of an Assembly and presumably must indorse the nonrecognition policy. Colombia, Cuba and Venezuela will support Argentina in principle. He added that in view of Brazil's declaration of non-recognition respecting Abyssinia he feels that he has Brazil's moral support here among the Latin-Americans. I cannot overemphasize that running through our entire conversation the American aspects of the policy were solely evident, the European aspects being completely brushed aside and apparently having no play in the policy involved.

Two. He stated to me that presumably Espil had

discussed

FS 5-No. 223, June 10 from Geneva

discussed these matters with the Department but at the same time he particularly requested that both the circumstance and the substance of his disclosures to me be kept strictly confidential. I would thus appreciate the Department's fully protecting my source.

Three. I find the reaction in Geneva to the Argentine initiative to be substantially as follows:

(a). A certain number of representatives applaud the move on principle as one of democratization vis a vis the domination of the League by the great powers and as supplying an opportunity for a general reaffirmation on a broad common front against an aggressor.

(b). It is almost universally held that all states whether consonant with their individual political policies or not inescapably must support or at least not oppose the principle of nonrecognition.

(c). At the same time the principle of nonrecognition is felt to be dangerously doctrinaire in that unless of value as preventing or resisting an aggression it only serves to complicate and obstruct a settlement.

(d). There is a strong undercurrent of resentment at the impropriety of a non-European state intervening in a European question especially at a critical juncture. Many Latin-Americans share this feeling also declaring

Argentina's

FS 6-No. 223, June 10 from Geneva

Argentina's action to be inconsistent with the Latin-American attitude respecting European intervention in American affairs. It is further felt that the move may have repercussions in general European American political relations.

CSB

GILBERT

(*) Apparent omission

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MED

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (c)

FROM

Dated June 12, 1936

Received 3:45 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington

206, June 12, 6 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

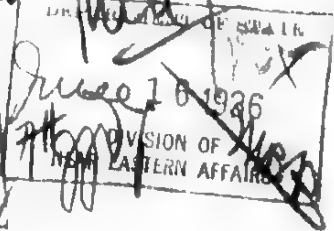
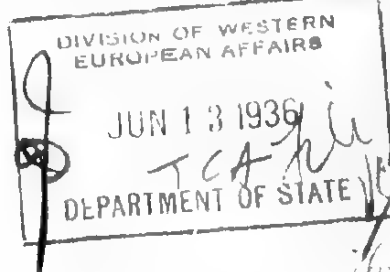
Department's 43, May 16, 1 p.m., and my 171, May 18, 4 p.m.

Since the announcement of the law providing for the organization and administration of Italian East Africa, effective June 1st (see my 184, June 4, 1 p.m., and despatch No. 1723, June 5) the measures relating to Italian executive authority in that territory have generally appeared in the form of decrees and ordinances issued by the Viceroy or Regent in Addis Ababa and it is assumed that that procedure will be followed in the future. Furthermore, accounts of any conflicts with Ethiopian bands or advances by Italian troops into unoccupied territories have been totally absent from the press and references to military activities have been confined to reports of submissions and disarming of native chiefs, the existence of banditry in certain districts and the surveillance by the air force over the unoccupied regions. Reports

based



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865D.01/109

JUN 18 1936

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MED - 2 - #206, June 12, 6 p.m. from Rome

based on information available to the Embassy relating to the administrative and military aspects of the situation in Ethiopia since the declaration of Italian sovereignty over that territory are found in despatches numbers 1679, 93 and 95 and 1716, 23, 32 and 33 and in telegrams numbers 164, 171, 173, 177, 178, 184, 188 and 189. From this information it would appear that the Italians have established an executive authority in Ethiopia and that effective resistance to Italian forces no longer exists, although it is obvious that further administrative acts will be required to complete the establishment of this executive authority and that further military measures will be required to enforce and to extend that authority. Unless, however, entirely new elements are injected into the situation it may be assumed that future developments will be in the nature of a general process and will not result in conditions analogous to those created by and following the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. From the facts of the situation, therefore, insofar as they may be determined from information available and inferred from opinions expressed in foreign circles, a state of war between Ethiopia and Italy may be judged no longer

7/10/51 a.c.
MED - 3 - #206, June 12, 6 p.m. from Rome

longer to exist. On that assumption it is submitted that the problem of the revocation of the President's proclamation of October 5th now becomes mainly a matter of policy which, in its larger aspects, only the department can determine. If, however, this problem can be regarded solely in relation to its European aspects, it is further submitted that the revocation of the proclamation of the President would not only tend to eliminate one element in the already over complicated situation but if carried out at this time would further enforce the declared policy of the United States of independent decision based on the recognition of facts.

KIRK

KLP:W/C

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4573 FOR Telegram #269, 6 pm.

FROM Ethiopia () DATED June 9, 1936.

TO NAME 1-1197 ***

REGARDING: Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. Italian government has no intention at this time to confront other Powers with the necessity of making a declaration on this question.

wth

865D.01/110

Ethiopian Pacific Movement,

200 West 135th Street Room 221
New York City

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT
AND CONSIDERATION

W. M. M. Dwyer

Asst. Secretary to the President

Executives

ROBERT O. JORDAN

President-General

CLAWSON HARRIS

Secretary-General

DARIUS IRBY

Treasurer-General

MAXIMO D. OCAMPO

Chief Medical Advisor

T. KIKUCHI

Chief Business Advisor

RUTH HARVELL

Chairman of Social Department

LILLIAN BROWNE

Financial Secretary

1936 JUN 12 PM 1 32

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

June 6, 1936

President of the United States
Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Washington, D. C.

His Excellency:

We, the officers and members of the

Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc., herewith

enclose a copy of a letter that we have

forwarded to the Secretary of State, Cordell

Hull, voicing our resentment of the attitude

taken by Judge Gotillo of the New York

Superior Court.

We trust that you will give this

matter your prompt consideration, and

Very respectfully,

ROBERT O. JORDAN, President

Robert O. Jordan
R. O. Jordan
President

DIVISION OF WESTERN
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

JUN 13 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUN 15 1936

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COPY

June 6, 1936

Honorable Cordell Hull
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir:

There appeared in the New York Times of June 5 excerpts of a letter sent to our beloved President, His Excellency Franklin Delano Roosevelt, by Judge Salvatore A. Cotillo of the New York Supreme Court urging of him to recognize the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy.

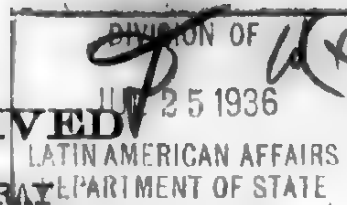
We, the colored citizens of America, and members of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Inc., the above organization, do hereby resent the attitude of Judge Cotillo because we are in doubt as to whether a judge in his position, drawing a salary from the citizens of New York, have the right to express his opinion in an open letter of such a nature. We believe that he would have the right as a private citizen, but not as a judicial officer. Therefore, we urge you in the name of fairplay and justice to take the necessary steps by ignoring such a letter. We beg of you to use your high office in the behalf of Ethiopia, seeing to it that this great government do not give recognition to the highhanded and brazen invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. We do hope that this nation will subscribe to the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

We do further feel that the time has come when as a nation, we should take a conspicuous place in the world's affairs. We cannot and must not shirk our obligation in dispensing justice to all mankind regardless of their race. Feeling that you are fully cognizant of the functions of your office, we conclude by appealing to you to be a contributor to world's justice which has been retarded by the act of Italy and which you will agree with us that we have just cause to be impatient as American citizens.

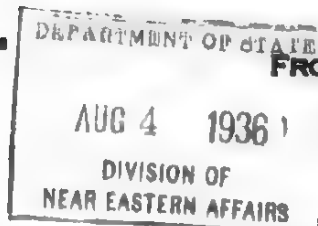
Thanks for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

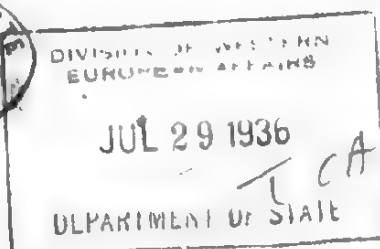
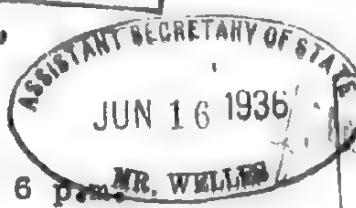


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Rio de Janeiro
Dated June 15, 1936
Rec'd 9:20 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



154, June 15, 6 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Department's 84, June 8, 2 p.m.

Macedo Soares and the Italian Ambassador both informed me this afternoon that President Terra of Uruguay has stated that there was no foundation for the Argentine statement that Uruguay was in full agreement with the Argentine position in regard to non-recognition of Italian annexations and the continuation of sanctions. Terra informed the Brazilian Ambassador in Montevideo and has also telegraphed to Mussolini that he did not feel that the best interests of peace would be served by starting public debate on the question and considers that it would be wise to adjourn the Special Assembly until after the powers directly interested had had an opportunity to find a way out. He also felt there was no longer any excuse for continuing sanctions.

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THE UNDER SECRETARY

JUN 23 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The attached paper is from

American Embassy, Rome.

It is submitted as of interest to the Secretary
by the Division of Western European Affairs.

(Initials) SR

Subject: Law on the Organization and Administration of Ethiopia.

Concise resumé of contents:

The Council of Ministers in Rome has approved a law establishing the organization and administration of "Italian East Africa." All Italian territories in this area are placed under the administration of a Viceroy Governor General and organized into five governments which constitute an ethnic and geographic unit. The Government General is established at Addis Ababa which has a special municipal administration and constitutes an autonomous region. The five governments are: (1) Eritrea, comprising the former colony of Eritrea and the northern provinces of Ethiopia. (2) Government of Amhara comprising the Amharic populations of the highlands. (3) Government of Galla and Sidamo comprising populations of the western province of Ethiopia. (4) Harrar comprising Moslem populations of Harrar and surrounding provinces. (5) Somaliland comprising the former Italian province of Somalia and the province of the Ogaden.

Powers of Government are vested solely in Recommendation of action:

Secretary's instruction:

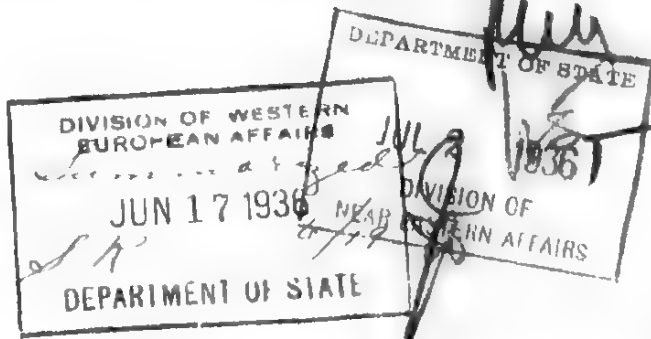
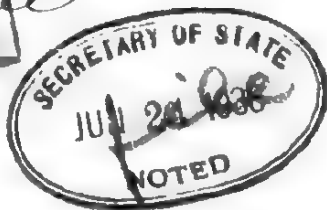
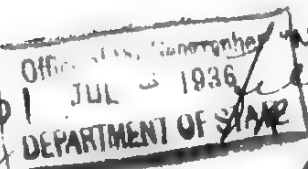
the hands of Italian officials and not in the native chieftains thus establishing a complete unity of command. Provincial chieftains may be consulted and may cooperate with the Government but will have none of the powers of government.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ROME, June 5, 1936.

No. 1723

Subject: Law on the Organization and Administration of
Ethiopia.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUN 17 PM 12 03

COMMUNICATIONS
SECTION

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

HISTORICAL ADVISER

JUL 2 - 1936

DEPT. OF STATE

I have the honor to inform the Department that as reported in my telegram No. 184 of June 1st, the Council of Ministers on that date approved a law establishing the main lines of the organization and administration of Ethiopia, or rather of "Italian East Africa." While this law, according to the official communiqué issued immediately after the meeting, entered into effect as of June 1st, the text thereof has not as yet been published, nor has announcement yet been made of further constitutional formalities for its enactment.

Contrary to earlier expectations, the organization of Ethiopia does not follow other colonial precedents, as, for example, the territory of India but, to quote the communiqué above mentioned, "has characteristics which fully respond to the general concepts of the policy of

Fascism"

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"Fascism" which is first and foremost "unity of command." Powers of government are vested solely in the hands of Italian officials, not native Rases or chieftains. The new law thus juridically cancels all traces of feudalism in Ethiopia. Moreover Eritrea and Somaliland as independent colonies directly subject to Rome have disappeared and become parts of what is henceforth to be known in Italy as Italian East Africa. The law as described in the official communique makes the following provisions:

Italian East Africa is under a Governor General Viceroy and is organized into five governments, each constituting an ethnic and geographic, as well as historic and political, unit. (See attached map).

The Government General has its capital at Addis Ababa (that city having a special administration, headed by a municipal governor, and constituting an autonomous region of some 60 square kilometers). Directly under the Governor General Viceroy are a Vice Governor General, and, as to military matters, a Chief of Staff.

The Government General coordinates the political and administrative activity of the individual governments, and for that purpose has directors of bureaus for the various branches of civil and political services; the duties of these officials will be prescribed in subsequent regulations.

The Government General is assisted by two advisory bodies: a Government Council, presided by the Viceroy, or in his absence by the Vice Governor General, and composed of the highest-ranking officials of Italian East Africa; and a Consulta (or general advisory board) which also comprises six Italian citizens selected by the Viceroy from among farmers, merchants, and industrialists, and six chieftains and notables selected from among subjects of Italian East Africa.

The Governments of Italian East Africa are:

Government of Eritrea

capital at Asmara, comprising the populations of Eritrea, Tigrai, Dankalia, and Aussa.

Government

Government of Amhara

capital Gondar, comprising Amharic populations of the highlands from the Lake Tana region to Shoa.

Government of Galla and Sidamo

capital Jimma, comprising populations of the western territory of Italian East Africa belonging to the two ethnic groups of the Gallas and Sidamos, and from the Lake region to the Sudan.

Government of Harrar

capital Harrar, comprising the Moslem populations of Harrar, Arussi, and Bale.

Government of Somaliland

capital Mogadiscio, comprising all Somalia populations: in other words those of former Italian Somalia and of the Ogaden.

These individual governments have juridical personality and administrative autonomy. They are governed and represented by a Governor, under whom are a Secretary General for civil administration and a Commander of the Troops for military administration.

The civil and political services of the Government are handled by Bureaus and their respective special technical Offices.

Each government is divided into regional districts, known as Commissariats, which in turn are subdivided into residencies or vice-residencies.

Municipal governments: In addition to Addis Ababa with its special regime, provision is made for municipal governments in the leading centers of the territory, including, naturally, the various capitals.

These governments are subordinate to the Government General as to internal policy in Italian East Africa, the administration of justice, military defence, colonization, process of civilization, and "every other sovereign activity of the State" in the territory.

They may, however, correspond directly among themselves and with the Colonial Office on all matters pertaining to routine affairs of their respective territories.

The communique points out that one of the leading characteristics of the organization is the "total and absolute respect for the rightful interests of the populations of Italian East Africa." The law, in fact, establishes that:

(1) East Africa is divided into territories that are homogenous, so that each of the leading races has its own territory and government. The Amharas, Gallas, Sidamos, and Moslems of Harrar are organized into distinct groups, while the Tigrai and Danakil populations are restored to Eritrea and the Ogaden Somalis to Somaliland.

(2) The Islamic faith is given maximum protection in contrast to the policy of the former government. The Law says: "Full liberty shall be given to the Moslems throughout the territory of the Empire to reopen their places of worship, their former religious institutions, their religious schools. Controversies among Moslem citizens shall be judged by the Khadi in accordance with Islamic law and the local customs of the Moslem populations. The teaching of Arabic in schools for subjects shall be compulsory in all Moslem territories of the Empire."

(3) The Christian Church of Ethiopia, connected through its hierarchy with the Patriarchate of Alexandria is subject to explicit regulations. The law also envisages accords with the ecclesiastical authorities in order to "give a maximum development to the religious institutions of the Christian territories of Italian East Africa" and in order that "this tie which unites in religion the populations of Ethiopia with the Coptic Church of Egypt may be effectively developed, culturally as well."

(4) For all questions in any manner directly affecting the populations, the Viceroy asks the opinion of the Consulta, this body comprising the outstanding leaders of the population, who in this way cooperate directly in the measures of the colonial government.

The following appointments have already been announced, although the royal decrees in question have not yet been promulgated (*):

promulgated (*):

Regent of the Government General of Italian East Africa:

in the absence of the Viceroy:

Marshal Rodolfo GRAZIANI.

Governor of Eritrea:

General Alfredo GUZZONI.

Governor of Amhara:

General Alessandro PIRZIO BIROLI.

Governor of Harrar:

General Guglielmo NASI.

Governor of Galla and Sidamo:

General Carlo GELOSO.

Governor of Somaliland:

General Ruggero SANTINI.

The press asserts that the present appointment of military officers as governors should not mislead opinion as to the civil nature of the administration (*). Under the provisions of the law, the governor of each colony has purely civil personality, duties, and powers (although the military authorities in his district are subject to his orders) and the military status of the present appointees affects their persons, not their office. It is pointed out that such appointments are temporary, in order to prevent any overlapping or conflict of civil and military authority during this transitional period when large contingents of troops and their respective high commands are in East Africa. It is stated that there will be no large permanent army in Africa once the territory is fully occupied and organized, (and it might be added, once it should become
apparent

(*) My telegram No. 188 of June 2nd.

apparent that foreign opposition to Italian possession had to all practical purposes ceased), but only the minimum required to ensure public order; and when that time comes, members of the Colonial Ministry will be appointed to these positions. In this connection it may be noted that the increase of 399 posts provided for in a provision approved by the council of Ministers on May 30th (*) included the positions of Vice Governor General, five Governors, five Secretaries General, etc. for East Africa. Incidentally, the Council also approved a measure providing that persons who have served in the East African campaign be given preference in three-fourths of the positions thrown open to candidates desiring to take the examinations for the Colonial Service and also that preference in the higher grades of service be shown to persons who have served for at least two years in the colonies.

Press comment on the Law of June 1st deals particularly with the following points:

Form of Government:

The form of government apparently differs greatly from colonial precedents of other powers; the press states that Rome could not copy a pattern which in many cases has proved unsatisfactory and unconvincing. In order to control and develop the country rapidly and efficiently, and at the same time to avoid many of the economic as well as political mistakes made in the domains of other colonial powers, a strong, unified form of government was required, with the same discipline that stands at the base of the fascist regime. There also seems to be the underlying purpose of preventing a strong tendency of the new Empire to break
away

(*) My telegram No. 184 of June 1st, paragraph 6.

away from the mother country at some distant future date because of misgovernment and, more particularly, a lack of unified policy both within the Empire itself and in its political and economic relations with the mother country. The desire is to make the policy of colony and homeland one and the same thing in its broad lines and to make their respective economies complementary not competitive. It is on this latter line that the corporative structure in Italy is working actively.

At the same time it is emphasized that an ample margin of autonomy in administration will be left to the individual governments in order to meet local conditions, customs, and problems.

It will be recalled that Mussolini in his interview with the DAILY TELEGRAPH, (*) when asked as to whether East Africa would be directly represented at Geneva, as the British Dominions are, made no direct reply. Nor has any answer to this question yet been given. The noted journalist, Corrado Zoli, who in the TRIBUNA has recently been discussing various problems connected with the administration and development of Ethiopia, remarks, however, that he sees no reason why Italian East Africa, even after it possesses a considerable Italian population, should have a delegation in the League: "At Geneva there is already an Italian nation: in my opinion that is enough. And let the League be content if Italy stays there."

Native Chieftains.

Stress is laid upon the fact that, as Mussolini proclaimed on May 5th, the government of the Rases has disappeared for good (**). These provincial chieftains

(*) Despatch No. 1706 of May 29th.

may

(**) "The chieftains and Rases no longer count and no force in the world can ever make them count again." (my despatch No. 1671 of May 7th).

may be consulted and may cooperate with the government but are never to be vested with any powers of government; nor is there to be any privilege for one race, tribe, or class as against another. The various titles and ranks will be retained, through respect for local traditions, and local communities will have their natural leaders (as in Libya); but the only government will be the Italian government.

Religion:

465 N. 404
Respect for the traditional religious communities is noted. Particular emphasis is placed upon the consideration shown the Moslem faith as compared to its oppression under the former regime. The reason for this would be obvious even had certain editorial writers not invited eastern countries to take note of "this immediate act of religious justice." Similarly attention is called to the compulsory teaching of Arabic in all Moslem territories. (*)

It is, however, said that this protection of the Moslems will not be at the expense of the Coptic Church. Only one writer, so far as the Embassy is aware, has called public attention to the fact that the Coptic Church in Ethiopia had proved a stronghold of feudalism, backwardness, and oppression.

Virginio Gayda has also referred to the Catholic religion, stating that undoubtedly the regime of white subjects of the Catholic faith in Ethiopia would be regulated through accords with the Holy See, which was in the habit of adapting its institutions to political conditions.

(*) The law provides that all official acts be published in Italian and, according to province, in one of the following second official languages: Arabic, Tigraian, Amharic, Galla, Somali.

Furthermore, some twenty languages altogether will be used in the schools, along with instruction in Italian.

Economic Grouping:

While the five governments are grouped chiefly according to racial and religious characteristics of the populations, it is pointed out that each of them constitutes a distinct unit from the economic aspect. For example, Eritrea and its new territories will be essentially a channel of trade to and from Italy and Europe, while Somaliland will be a center for trade with eastern countries, as well as a center for purely colonial agriculture. Amhara a producing region of typically European products, Galla and Sidamo a probably important mining region as well as a great agricultural region for coffee, rubber, and other tropical products, etc.

The text of the law will be forwarded in full translation as soon as it is published. Other details recently published with regard to government measures and the present situation in Ethiopia will be reported in a separate despatch along the lines of my Nos. 1695 and 1710 of May 21st and 29th.

Respectfully yours,



Alexander Kirk
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

✓
Enclosure:
Map

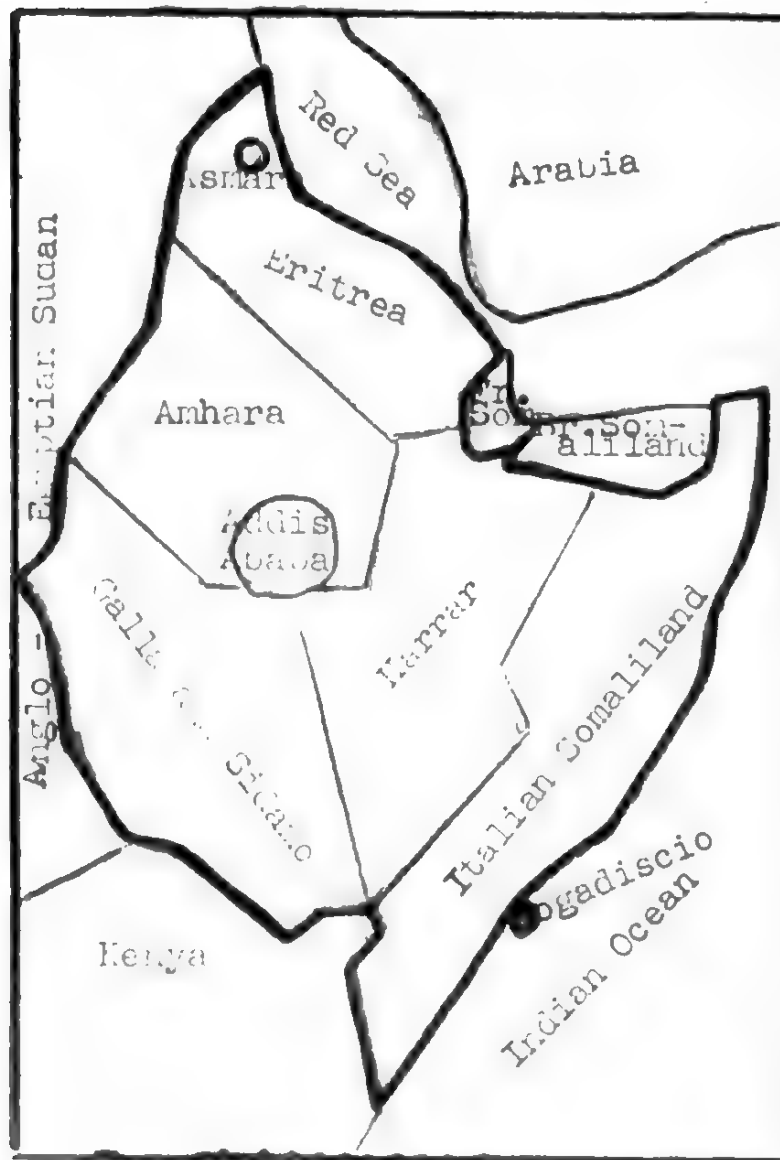
EH/gc

711

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 1723 of June 5, 1936,
from the Embassy at Rome.

Map of Italian East Africa as Indicated
in the Law of June 1, 1936.

(Copied from the Italian Press)



7.5.41

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 711.00111 Armament Control/ 924 FOR Letter

FROM/ () DATED June 12, 1936.

TO President

NAME

1-1127

000

REGARDING: Revocation of arms embargo with respect to Italy and Ethiopia.

Presents information received from Mr. Engert, the Minister Resident at Addis Ababa, concerning the military situation in Ethiopia. We are of opinion that it would be desirable to refrain from taking any action with respect to revocation of proclamation of October 5, 1935, pending further report.

865D.01/114

115

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6511/812 FOR Tel. #67-2pm

~~/VKN/~~ TO: Italy () DATED June 15, 1936
TO NAME 1-1157

REGARDING: Addition of title, "Emperor of Ethiopia" on letters of credence.
Comments on question of -.

tfr

8650.01/115

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4663 FOR Despatch #1725

FROM Italy (Kirk) DATED June 5, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING: Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. Italian government has not pressed for formal recognition but has accepted de facto acknowledgment of the new status of Ethiopia, leaving de jure recognition to a later period.

wth

865D.01 / 116

117

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4684 FOR Telegram #428, 11 am.

FROM Ethiopia (Engert) DATED June 18, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1187 000

REGARDING: Italian annexation of Ethiopia and the abandonment of the arms embargo. Points out certain psychological factors which may have considerable influence on utilitarian bargaining as may later become necessary or possible, with respect to concessions or ordinary trade.

wth

865D,01/117

118

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.84/4687 FOR Telegram #220, 8 pm.

FROM Italy (Kirk) DATED June 19, 1936.
TO NAME 1-1187 ***

REGARDING: British efforts to dissuade Argentina from insisting at the the forthcoming League Assembly on a declaration of non-recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia. Plan of compromise outlined.

wth

865D.01/118

MED

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (b)

ROME

June 19, 1936

Received 5:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington

220, June 19, 8 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

The first reaction among Foreign Office officials to Eden's speech is one of gratification in so far as the references to sanctions are concerned, although a certain sense of disappointment is noted in that no reference was made therein to the eventual renewal of cooperation by Italy in the problems confronting Europe. They also are apparently disturbed by Eden's reaffirmation of the naval accords among the Mediterranean countries. This reference, however, I understand from British circles, was intended to reassure the smaller Mediterranean countries who are in fear of future aggression on the part of Italy and may be explained on that basis.

The possible developments in the Geneva meetings at the end of the month are still a source of anxiety to the Italians. From British sources I understand that efforts have been made by England in informal negotiation between representatives of the British and Argentine Governments to dissuade Argentina from insisting at the Assembly

on a

4687

MED - 2 - #220, June 19, 8 p.m. from Rome

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on a declaration of non-recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia and to agree to a compromise on the basis of the reaffirmation for the future of the doctrine of non-recognition of territory acquired by force and of the appointment of a commission to study and report on the conditions in Ethiopia with special reference to eventual recognition of Italian sovereignty. This commission would not hand down its report for approximately six months.

It is apparently accepted as settled that the Italian Government will submit a statement to the League and that it will include assurances as to the recruiting of a black army in East Africa, the protection of the native population, and the safeguarding of foreign interests there. It is also said that the Italian Government may agree to report to the League on the foregoing matters from time to time.

Repeated to Geneva.

KIRK

SMS:NPL

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